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# CHAPTER III

## RECORDED HISTORY OF THE RIF

175 THE isolation and impregnability of the Rif, due to the ruggedness inherent in both its landscape and its people, while advantageous to the anthropologist in preserving to this day ancient racial strains and cultural complexes, impede and almost totally prevent the work of the historian. The history of the Rif, so far as we can glean it, is a succession of invasions for the most part thwarted, of streams of conquest and colonization which have often rushed by but seldom through.

### PRE-ISLAMIC HISTORY

The earliest reference in written history which may possibly concern the Rif is an inscription in an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb [1] referring to an invasion of Egypt in that period by a group of Libyans called the Mashausha. These people, a part of or affiliated with the Rebu, had conquered the Tehennu, the only Libyans with whom the Egyptians had previously been familiar,[2] and had enlisted the Tehennu under their command to invade Egypt. The Mashausha were said to have been westerners, and blonds. This reference may have some distant connection with the name of the Mazuza, a part of the present tribe of Galiya, but it is equally possible that there was at that time more than one group bearing the name of Mazuza.

Later on Herodotus [3] mentions the Maxyes as occupying the territory to the west of Lake Moeris and being different culturally from the nomadic Libyans to the east. The name may have some connection with that which the Riffians give themselves today, Imazighen, but this would not designate them alone, since other Berber groups use the same term.

The Phoenicians are believed to have first established their trading posts along the North African coast as early as the twelfth century before Christ,[4] and are thought to have traded very early through the Pillars of Hercules and along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, founding colonies as they went.[5] Hanno the Carthaginian, several centuries after the first Phoenician contacts along this coast,[6] led an expedition of colonists to the coast extending from the region of Mogador down to and beyond the Draa,[7] and continued to some point south of the Senegal,[8] almost to the equator.

[1] Orie Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 211 *sqq.*
[2] Gaston Maspero, *The Struggle of Nations*, p. 431.
[3] Vol. IV, p. 180
[4] S. Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, vol. I, p. 366.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 415, 507.
[6] It is impossible to date this exactly. See Gsell, pp. 510-519.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 483. Vivien de St. Martin, *Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité*, p. 367; Raymond Roget (ed.), *Le Maroc chez les Auteurs Anciens*, p. 18; R. Bosworth Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, pp. 40-41; Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 4. Gsell thinks that Garicon Teichos, the first of the five colonies was located at Mogador. Others differ. Meakin stating that it is impossible to locate them.
[8] Gsell, p. 507; Meakin, p. 544.

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The Classical geographers name several of the harbors and landmarks along the Riffian coast; but only one, Russaddir, the modern Melilla, appears to have been a city.[1] This Chenier[2] believed to have been founded by the Carthaginians. A few years ago Spanish engineers building a road outside the city uncovered several ancient graves, containing, in conjunction with badly decomposed skeletons, several pieces of wheel-made pottery, and gold and silver ornaments. Among the latter were two gold earrings of fine workmanship, realistically shaped in the form of doves. Phoenician writing on the pots gave the clue to the identity of these remains.[3]

At Ajdir there is a ruin, in the shape of a quadrangle, on the beach directly opposite the island of Alhucemas. This site, unexcavated and filled with sand, consists, on the surface, of several ancient rubble walls enclosing a square. In the walls are to be found potsherds, made on the wheel and well baked, totally different from the hand-made poorly fired modern product. With these potsherds there are also pieces of green-glazed tiling. (See plate 4.)

This ruin is called the "Jema'a el Mujahidin," or Mosque of the Holy Warriors. It is locally supposed to have been built by the first Mohammedan missionaries in the Rif. Whoever built it apparently used as wall-metal the remains of an earlier settlement with a highly developed ceramic culture. An investigation of this site and an archaeological survey of the whole Riffian littoral would be an interesting enterprise.

This stretch of coast was the least-known portion, in ancient times, of the whole Moroccan seaboard, if we may judge by the relative rarity of sites mentioned in the literature of that time. The same means of comparison indicates that it was the region least affected by Punic culture.

Hamilcar, when he invaded Spain in 237 B.C., took his army to Europe by sea, skirting the coast to the Pillars of Hercules, and then sailing across.[4] This may well have been the usual means of travel between Carthage and Spain employed by a maritime people. Movements of troops which may have occurred by land would probably have followed the Trik es-Sultan, the usual east-west artery through what are now Ujda, Guerçif, Taza, and Fez—the normal and topographically easiest route.

The Carthaginians drew their soldiery from all over North Africa and from parts of Europe as well.[5] It is not unlikely that some of the young men of what is now the Rif, finding themselves out of the hills on some errand, enlisted, just as many enlisted in the French forces during the World War, without compulsion. Soldiers coming home from Carthaginian wars may have brought with them new ideas, manners, and styles of living. More probably, however, they felt it expedient to drop new habits at the portals of their land. I have watched returned soldiers come home to the Rif; usually they shed, on the way, any new elements of dress with which they started, — garters, shoes, stockings, kerchiefs, fezzes, one after the other, — and when the adventurer arrives at the place of his ancestors he is attired in practically the same costume which he wore upon leaving. He converses very seldom about his experiences, and tries to smother himself back again into the old ways.

This, at least, is the modern technique of the returning soldier in the central and more archaic regions of the Rif. He feels that he would not be tolerated if he suggested any change, and if he told tales of things the others did not understand he would be branded a

[1] Itinerary of Antoninus (Roget, p. 40); Ptolemy (Roget, p. 36); Meakin, p. 557.
[2] L. S. de Chenier, *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, p. 32.
[3] These objects are at present deposited in the City Hall at Melilla.
[4] Smith, p. 157. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 30; see also his reference to Plutarch's *Timoleon*, p. 20.

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boaster and liar. Such is the conservatism of the Rif, the mental inertia which makes a man look with distrust and intolerance upon any action or device not known to and accepted by his grandfather. If the same conservatism held true in Classical times, the distant presence of Carthage, and later of Roman cities, cannot have affected the Riffian tribes as profoundly as it did other Berber peoples better known in antiquity.

After the fall of Carthage, the Romans concerned themselves with the subjugation of North Africa, and after the Jugurthan war took Tangier.[1] During this period they laid claim to all the territory between the Atlantic and the Red Sea,[2] without much real authority over the outlying parts of their dominions. Along the Moroccan coast they are said to have had no authority more than eight leagues from the coast,[3] which is probably an exaggeration; it is doubtful whether they had any except at strategic points such as Ceuta.

The lands wherewith we are concerned came under the designation of Mauretania Tingitania, and east of the Muluya the country was called Mauretania Caesarea.[4] The part of Tingitania which was actually settled and administered by the Romans consisted of a right triangle, with Volubulis, near the modern Zerhun, as its right angle. (See plate 4.) Ceuta and Salé formed the two acute angles.[5]

This province was considered administratively a part of Spain,[6] and was generally reached by sea or through Spain. The portion of Caesarea lying between the rivers Muluya and Tafna was believed to be a trackless desert inhabited by wild beasts,[7] and the Roman road going westward from Carthage ended at the city of Caesarea, where the traveler still desirous of proceeding westward was forced to put to sea, and could find no road nearer than Ceuta, the point of debarkation.[8]

This negative evidence, although it strongly indicates the relative inaccessibility of the Rif in Roman times, does not mean, of course, that no Roman ever set foot in it, but merely that not enough of them did so to win fame in Classical literature. As will be seen later, the Christian elements in Riffian religion, especially in the region of the Senhaja Sghir, tend to indicate some sort of contact with the Romans, although there is no record of any bishoprics having been established in any part of the territory in question. The episcopal lists later on in the time of the Vandals show only one bishop in Morocco, at the city of Opinon, on the distant Lixus.[9]

It is interesting that perhaps the only positive reference to the Riffians in this period shows them not only unsubjugated by Rome, but actually, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, attacking the Romans and carrying the war into Spain.[10]

In A.D. 429, what little claim the Romans had to the western Mauretania disappeared forever with the incoming of the Vandals.[11] Boniface, the governor of Roman Africa, invited them to share his domain and help him with his personal wars.[12] The army, which

[1] Chenier, p. 109.

[2] William S. Davis, *An Outline History of the Roman Empire*, p. 77; Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, bk. iii, chap. 1, ll. 12-13.

[3] Louis Marcus, *L'Histoire des Wandales*, p. 143. Wherever possible I have examined Marcus's sources, since he used Victor Cartennis as eighteenth-century forgery. I have not used those statements of Marcus which are based on Victor Cartennis, except where other sources are quoted.

[4] Chenier, p. 112. [5] Meakin, p. 13; de Saint Martin, p. 346.

[6] Marcus, p. 286 (from Itinerary of Antoninus); see Roget, p. 39.

[7] Marcus, p. 292 (from Optatus, Hist. Donatist., edition Dupin, Introduction, p. lxxxix).

[8] Meakin, p. 7 (from Spartian, Hadrian, xxii, p. 194).

[9] For date, see Meakin, p. 17. [10] Procopius, bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 25.

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numbered between fifty and eighty thousand,[1] was commanded by Genseric, bastard son of the king Godigisclus.[2] 175

The route which this army took is not clearly known. Procopius says that "the Vandals crossed the strait at Gadira [Cadiz]" and came into Libya— ' adding no details concerning the route. Evidence has been offered to prove that Genseric transferred his army by sea as far as the site of the modern Algiers.[3]

Whether or not they traversed Morocco, one year after their departure from Cadiz " the Vandals were besieging Hippone,[7] the modern Bone,[8] far to the east of the Rif, and thence marched on Carthage, which they captured in 439.[9]

By 457 those Vandals who had not left Spain with Genseric had probably joined his forces.[10] Marjorien, representing Roman authority in Spain, marched in pursuit of them, but with little success.[11]

The Vandals themselves lived almost exclusively in the territory neighboring Carthage, and both the Vandals and the Romans considered Tingitania a barren area, suitable only to serve as a natural barrier of defence.[12] In 460 Genseric sent men back to burn and devastate the two Mauretanias, poisoning the wells and springs, so as to prevent further attack from Spain by land.[13]

Soon after the arrival of the Vandals in Africa, the native rulers took back the territory previously belonging to them west of the Tafna,[14] and it was only on such destructive expeditions as the two above named that the Vandals came near them at all.

One of the few ways in which the Vandals may have influenced the Riffians was by their periodic habit of exiling the Tunisian Catholics. During periods of special bitterness church officials were sent to live among the Moors, a punishment which was then considered the severest imaginable.[15] Tingitania is not mentioned among the destinations of these unfortunates. If any did go to northern Morocco, however, their advent may have given rise to the tradition-origins of the Beni Bu Nsar and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, whose phylonymic forebears may on the other hand have wandered in independently or have been sent by the Romans.

After the surrender of Gelimer, the last Vandal king, to the Byzantine forces,[16] he and most of the Vandals with him were removed from Africa.[17] Some, including the royal family, were taken to the capital to adorn a triumph,[17] while most of the men were forced into the eastern army of the Empire. Four hundred of the latter escaped and returned to Africa.[18] In 540 Solomon sent to Byzantium what few Vandals, including their women, remained in Africa.[19]

[1] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 189 n.
[2] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 5 n.
[3] B. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, vol. III, p. 344.
[7] Procopius, bk. iii, chap. 3, ll. 31–34.
[8] Marcus, p. 156 (from Prosper, p. 195; Idatius, p. 23).
[9] *Ibid.* (from Possidius).
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 293–294 (from Itinerary of Antoninus).
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 266 (after Idatius, p. 27; Marius Aventimus, in *Chronica apud Duchesne, scriptores histor. francor. coetanei*, vol. I, p. 210; Procopius; and Victor Cartensis). Procopius differs from the others in this, Victor having presumably copied Idatius and Marius.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 293 (based on Procopius).
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 181 (from Victor Vitensis, I, 5, as well as Victor Cartensis).
[14] Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 7, l. 12
[15] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 14, ll. 17-19.
[16] *Ibid.*, bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 23.
[17] Bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 26 (Dewing's translation).
[18] For date, see Marcus, p. 145.
[19] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 23 n.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 137 (a personal deduction).

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175 The disappearance of the Vandals from North Africa may thus be explained historically. There was probably a minimum of race-mixture between this people and the mountain Berber stock; the Berbers hated the Vandals heartily and the Vandals, softened by luxury and excesses out of all moral semblance to their ancestors, looked upon the life of the hardy mountain tribes with delicate horror. The emasculated invaders preferred slavery to a life among a people the hardships of whose manner of living they could not endure.[1] Procopius describes a light-skinned fair-haired people far to the west of the territory with which he was familiar, a people contemporary with the Vandals and incapable of historical derivation from them.[2] The popular theory of a Vandal origin of blondism in North Africa is historically unsupportable.

During the half century which remained between the expulsion of the Vandals from North Africa and the first onrush of Arab invasion, the Romans did not attempt to retake the Mauretanias. The Goths had crossed over and taken possession of Ceuta, as well, perhaps, as of ports along the Ghomaran coast.[3] As related in a previous chapter,[4] the Ghomara retain traditions of a temporary subjugation to a people whom they call Portuguese, and point out decrepit castles on promontories of the seacoast as evidence of their statements. These towers, again, might advantageously be made the object of archaeological research.

Don Julian, the lord of Ceuta, who invited the Arabs to invade Spain, was called the ruler of the Ghomara,[5] which he may well have been. The Goths, for whom little has been claimed, may have possessed more power along the Riffian shore line than the much-vaunted Vandals ever aspired to.

It is during this little-known period between the downfall of the Vandals and the entrance of the Arabs that a Jewish kingdom of the Rif has been postulated by certain Moroccan Jews anxious to exploit deeds traditionally attributed to their ancestors. The claim is that at this time there was a Jewish kingdom in the Rif with a Jacob Pariente as king. This Pariente is said to have warred on the constituted authorities in Spain.[6]

Michaux-Bellaire, who brought this claim to light and has thoroughly exposed most of its details, feels nevertheless that the period of history specified in the tradition may have been one of strong Jewish influence in the Rif.[6] Ritualistic action in a modern Riffian religious ceremony [7] and dramatic representations in the annual carnival [8] seem to support his idea.[9]

## FIRST ARAB INVASIONS

In A.D. 648 the Arabs invaded North Africa.[10] This event marks a turning point not only in religion and in certain elements of culture but also in the extent of human knowledge, since the Arabs left far better records of historical events than any of the invaders who had

[1] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 8, l. 29.
[3] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères*, vol. i, pp. 212, 287; vol. ii, p. 135.
[4] Chapter 1.
[5] Meakin, p. 26 and n. 1, referring to Ibn Khaldun, vol. i, pp. 212, 287, vol. ii, p. 135, and to En Naziri, vol. i, p. 31.
[6] Michaux-Bellaire, *Au Propos du Rif*, pp. 3–7.
[7] See below, p. 151.
[8] See below, pp. 152 *sqq.*
[9] Horovitz, *Marokko*, pp. 47, 48; Sidney Mendelssohn, *The Jews of Africa*, pp. 142–145. Both Horovitz and Mendelssohn feel that Jews may have been in this region since before the Babylonian captivity. Slouschz also (*Une Voyage des Etudes Juives en Afrique*, Memoire Inst. Française, 1re Série, Tome 12e, pp. 482, 507–508, 550–551, 555) finds pre-Talmudic practices employed by North African Jews, indicating that their ancestors left Palestine before the second destruction of the temple.
[10] Meakin, p. 21.

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175 preceded them. In 688, under Okba, they reached the Atlantic,[1] and shortly afterward the invasion of Spain took place. These Arabs who came as the first Islamic invaders of Morocco were men of good family and of high culture. The Arabic which they spoke was of Classical type, and their standards of literacy and Koranic learning were high. It was this type of Arab culture, brought by the first wave of invaders (who were not Bedawin), that became the foundation of the high civilizations of Fez, Tetwan, and the cities of Andalusia.[2]

Explorers and missionaries rather than colonists, they travelled for the most part without women, and did not hesitate to marry into the families of the Berbers among whom they found themselves. Thus their offspring were as much Berber as Arab; and before many generations one may well imagine that the Berber blood dominated, although the Arab culture was maintained in the cities with little diminution.[3] Thus their descendants were less Arab in blood than the Bedawin who came after them, but more Arab than they in the sense that they were more deeply steeped in Islamic culture. The effect of this early group on the Berbers was not unfavorable. The Berbers took over Islam, but kept to their old language and to a great extent to their old manner of living, incorporating the new and the old into a firm blend which has in several areas survived until today, although in other parts of Morocco the advent of Bedawin [2] in later times has broken it up.

## THE KINGDOM OF NEKOR

Such influences came to the Rif largely through the agency of one man and his descendants, and a study of the history of this family may be found useful when the time comes to attempt to unravel the cultural problems of the present-day Rif.

In narrating this history I can do no better than paraphrase the account given by el Bekri,[3] an historian writing in the eleventh century, since all subsequent accounts are based on his.[4]

Saleh ibn Mansur, a Himyarite, established himself in the central region of the Rif in the reign of the Khalifa el Welid ibn Abd el-Melek, about the year 710. He made his home at the port of Temsaman, near Bedkun, situated on the Wed el-Bakar. He converted to Islam the Berbers of the surrounding tribes, but these new converts, soon tiring of the restrictions imposed upon them by their new religion, renounced it and drove Saleh from the country. They then took as their chief one er-Rondi, a Berber of the tribe of Nefza, who had been in Spain, and who relapsed with them into heathenism. Tiring of him, however, they decided to reënter Islam, and called Saleh back to them. Saleh remained in the region until his death, and was buried at Agta, a village on the Temsaman coast.

Saleh married, among others, a Senhajan woman, and had by her two sons, el-Motasem and Idris. Abd es-Samed, his third son, was borne by another wife. El Motasem succeeded Saleh by popular acclaim, and, dying shortly after his accession, was succeeded by his nephew, Said ibn Idris.

This Said, the grandson of Saleh, built the city of Nekor five miles from the sea on the western bank of the River Nekor, on top of a hill which offered facilities for defence. This city became the capital of the kingdom of Nekor, which the descendants of the family were

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[2] Pages 193–196.
[3] E. F. Gautier, *Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb*, pp. 385–389.
[4] Introduction, p. 5.

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175 destined to rule for three centuries more. An important market, which had been established nearby by Saleh, was moved to the town, and gave it promise of commercial prosperity.

In 858–859 Nekor was invaded by a piratical band of Normans, who sacked and destroyed the town, and after eight days departed, taking with them those of the inhabitants who had not fled. Among the prisoners were Ama t-er-Rahman and Khanula, two granddaughters of el Motasem ibn Saleh, who were ransomed and sent home by the Imam Mohammed ibn Abd er-Rahman, the fifth Omeiyad sovereign of Spain.

Said ibn Idris, in whose reign this misfortune occurred, did not die without further troubles. The Branes tribe of Berbers, perhaps the same Branes who today consider themselves part of the Senhaja, revolted, electing a certain Segguen as chief. Segguen won over other tribes, and the rebels attacked the city of Nekor itself; but at this juncture Said organized a sally and defeated them so badly that they entered into submission once more without further trouble.

When Said died he was succeeded by his son Saleh II, who no sooner than in power had to fight his brother Idris, who had stirred Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel into revolt. The two armies met on Mt. Kuin, in Gzennaya, and Idris was completely victorious, except that Saleh escaped. Idris marched on to Nekor and demanded admittance as king. The officer whom Saleh had left in charge defended the place vigorously and refused to let Idris in until he should bring proof that Saleh was dead. During the night Saleh entered by stealth, and in the morning the governor let Idris in, saying that he was now sure of Saleh's death. No sooner had Idris entered, however, than he was seized and locked up in the palace. Saleh was unwilling to put him to death, but at length acceded to the entreaties of his ally, Kasem the Lord of Za, and had him killed by a page, since no one else was willing to do it.

Saleh's next difficulty was with the Meknassa, perhaps the ancestors of the inhabitants of the villages of Meknassa Fokania, and Meknassa Takhtania, today situated directly south of the Gzennaya. The Meknassa having refused to pay taxes, Saleh had let loose in their country an ass bearing a letter in the feed bag on its back. The Meknassa found the letter and read it, discovering it to be full of threats. Fearing Saleh's punishment, they put the amount of overdue taxes on the ass's back, along with a load of fine cloth from Merv, and led the ass back to Saleh, who forgave them.

When Saleh died his son Said II succeeded to the kingdom and to the troubles which usually beset its rulers. Hardly had he taken up office when the slaves of his family, led by his brother Obeid Allah and his uncle Abu Ali er-Rida, revolted and attacked him in his palace. With the help of his wives and attendants he drove them out, and later put down the rebellion, killing all the leaders but his brother and uncle, whom he imprisoned, later sending Obeid Allah to Mekka for life.

Among those he killed was his cousin el Aghleb, whereupon another cousin, a certain Sedeat-Allah ibn Harun, became angry and in return started a revolt among the Beni Isliten of Temsaman, without Said's knowing of his participation. When Said heard of the revolt, he set out with Sedeat-Allah to crush it, but Sedeat Allah betrayed him, going over to the rebels with all his men. Said fled to Nekor and was besieged there. Finally, however, Said won, and Sedeat-Allah remained in hiding in Temsaman. Said killed Sedeat-Allah's brother and burned his houses, in true Riffian style, and later pardoned Sedeat-Allah and let him return to court. Sedeat-Allah then entered the country of the Botouia and Beni

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Urtedi. From these peoples he obtained possession of the Garet fortress of Kolwé-Jara, whence he made raids on the territory of the Marnissa and Zenata. Later he came back to Nekor and remained as a faithful retainer of Said. During this time the sister of Said married a sherif of lengthy pedigree, who came to live in the country and established his progeny there.

Up to this time, and indeed throughout the reign of their dynasty, the family of Saleh had been orthodox Mohammedans of the old school, following literally the precepts of the Malekite rite. Through this adherence to orthodoxy they had remained in the good graces of the Omeiyad khalifas of Spain, one of whom, as has been related, ransomed the princesses of Nekor after the disastrous raid by the Normans in the time of the first Said.

Although their orthodoxy kept the kings of Nekor in the good graces of Spain, it aroused against them the ire of the heretical Fatemid khalifas of Kairwan. Obeid Allah esh-Shiai, the khalifa, sent Said a poem in which he threatened to destroy his kingdom if he should not submit to Fatemid doctrine and power. Said called in an able poet, who wrote a pungent reply which offended the khalifa so much that he sent out Messala ibn Habbus, the governor of Tehert, to invade the domain of Nekor and attack Said. In 917 Messala advanced on Nekor and took up his position at a place called Nesaft, a day's march from Nekor.

Said marched out against him and fought three days without being defeated. Then Hamd ibn el Ayesh, a valiant Riffian in his forces, a native of the tribe of Ituweft, which may have been the same as the present Beni Itteft, attempted to break through the enemy's lines and assassinate Messala. His plan failed, and he was taken prisoner. When Messala was about to kill him, he offered to support Messala in return for his life, and led the Fatemid army through a weak side of Said's line, whereupon Said's troops fled. Said sent his family out to the Isle of Alhucemas, and with a few of his retainers fought until he was killed. Nekor was sacked, and the women and children taken prisoners. Said's head, and the heads of those of his family who had been killed, were taken to the Fatemid khalifa's court and exhibited.

His children and the other members of his family who had escaped went to Spain, where they were well received by the Omeiyad sovereign Abd er-Rahman en-Nasr, who provided them with what they required and let them remain in Malaga, awaiting an opportunity to return home.

Messala spent six months overrunning the territory of Nekor and then he departed, leaving one of his officers named Delul in charge. Before long the Fatemid soldiers stationed with Delul began to leave, until soon he had but a small group at his command. Said's three sons, Idris, el Motasem, and Saleh, heard this and prepared to return. Each set sail at the same time in a different boat, with the agreement that whoever should land first would be king. Saleh, the youngest one, landed first, on the roadstead of Temsaman and was acclaimed king. His brothers when they landed acknowledged him without controversy. He marched on Delul, captured him and his men, and crucified them all along the banks of the Nekor. Abd er-Rahman ibn Mohammed of Cordova sent Saleh gifts of jewels, clothing, and arms, and had the news of the victory announced throughout Spain.

Saleh III died after a twenty years' reign and was succeeded by his grandson el-Mowayed, who was attacked by Musa ibn Abu 'l Afiya and was killed. In 929-930 Nekor was again destroyed, and this time permanently.

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Later Abu Ayub Ismail, the great-grandson of the first Said through another line, took over the command and rebuilt Nekor, establishing in it a new population, and restoring the market-day. In 935 Sandal, the Negro leader of the Fatemid forces, seeking another force which under Meisur, another Negro, had been lost, approached Nekor and wrote to Ismail demanding his submission. Ismail shut himself up in the castle of Agri and wrote Sandal that he was willing to submit. Sandal sent messengers asking Ismail to come to his camp, but when he learned that Ismail had put these messengers to death he advanced and occupied the fortress of Naseft, the place in which Messala had killed Said ibn Saleh. After eight days of fighting Sandal took Agri, killing Ismail and most of those with him.

Sandal set up a Ketaman Berber named Mermazu as governor of Nekor, and departed for Fez, which city he had heard that Meisur, whom he had originally set out to find, was besieging.

The inhabitants of Nekor then returned, having chosen a member of the family of Saleh as their ruler. He was Musa ibn er-Rumi, who had previously lived among the Beni Isliten of Temsaman. Musa ibn er-Rumi took back Nekor, killed Mermazu, and sent his head to the emir of Cordova.

Two years after the coming of Sandal, Musa ibn er-Rumi was expelled from Nekor by another member of the royal family, Abd es-Semia, and went, with his brother and other relations, to Spain, where members of the family, survivors from previous expulsions, were already living in Pechina. His cousin Jorthem ibn Ahmed at the same time went to Malaga. In 947–948 Jorthem was recalled to Nekor as king, and retained his office until 971. The rule passed successively to several of his descendants, until in 1019–20 the Azdaja conquered them and forced them to reëmbark to Malaga. After the Azdaja had left, the descendants of Jorthem returned to Nekor, or rather to el Mezemma, its seaport. Later Yala ibn Fotuh the Azdaji drove from the country all the members of this family. In the year in which el Bekri wrote, A.D. 1067–68, Nekor still belonged to the descendants of Yala ibn Fotuh.

This is all that we know of the history of the kingdom of Nekor. Ibn Khaldun, writing several centuries later, merely copied el Bekri,[1] and did not state what events occurred there after the year in which el Bekri wrote.[2]

About six hundred years later a Frenchman, Sieur Roland Frejus, landed at Alhucemas and crossed the Rif by way of the River Nekor, Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and the Garet. He afterwards returned to Alhucemas and spent some time there.[3] Frejus says that a certain Sheikh Amar commanded part of the Boutoya, the rest of which region, as well as Temsaman, was under the suzerainty of Sheikh Arras of "Albouzema," his brother-in-law and enemy.[4] Sheikh Arras lived in "Albouzema," otherwise known as El Mezemma, the port of Nekor, situated on the beach somewhat to the eastward of the present Ajdir.[5] On his ride into the interior Frejus stopped at Nekor, three leagues from the sea,[6] but does not say whether it was then a flourishing town or a ruin, as it is today. At any rate, El Mezemma must have been more important than Nekor, for when the Filali Sultan Mulay er-Rashid punished Sheikh Arras, his father-in-law, for not assisting him personally in the siege of Fez, he destroyed el Mezemma,[7] but no mention is made of his destroying Nekor, which must therefore have been already demolished, since no one in history had ever before passed by an opportunity to knock it down.

[1] Vol. II, p. 137, n. 4.
[2] Pages 2, 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[4] Pages 22–23.
[5] Frejus (itinerary abstracted from entire book).
[6] Page 22.
[7] Page 7.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



This event took place in 1666;[1] therefore the most that we know concerning the final abandonment of Nekor is that it occurred probably between 1068 and 1666. 175

The extent of the territory included in the kingdom of Nekor and the names of the tribes which bounded it are clearly stated in el Bekri. On the east he places the country of the Zuagha, about five days' journey from Nekor and neighboring the Jerawa of el Hasan ibn Abi 'l Aish. Near by are the Matmata, people of Kebdana, the Marnissa of the White Hill, the Ghassasa, who inhabit Mt. Herek, and the Beni Urtedi of Kolwé Jara. On the west the territory of Nekor extended to the country of the Beni Merwan, a people who made up part of the Ghomara, and touched on another Ghomaran tribe, the Beni Homeid, famous for its horses, and also on the Mestassa and the Senhaja. Behind these peoples he placed the Aureba and the Band of Ferhun, the Beni Ulid, the Zenata of Taberida, the Beni Irnian, and the Beni Merasen of the band of Kasem lord of Za and of the "hill called Taurirt."[2] The list of these outlying peoples, as well as those on the borders of the kingdom, includes many known today.

The Zuagha are now considered purely Algerian, but may in the days of Nekor have reached as far west as the Muluya. The Kebdana, of course, are still in their place; the Marnissa are now farther west than their order in the list would indicate; the Ghassasa were probably a group of what are now called the Galiya, and the Beni Urtedi, nomadic Berbers, in the Garet. Kolwé Jara, their stronghold, is said to have been one day's journey beyond the River Kert, and a day's journey likewise from the Muluya.[3] Therefore Kolwé Jara can be roughly located by finding a place where the two rivers are two days' march apart, and locating the middle of that distance. A line from the Kert to the Muluya, passing through the wells of Hassi Wensga, in the Beni Bu Yahyi, constitutes a two days' march, and Hassi Wensga is exactly one day's march from either river. At Hassi Wensga there are said to be the ruins of an ancient fortress. The wells of Hassi Wensga furnish the only water for many miles around in the arid waste in which it is located; a castle in that place would have the advantage over its besiegers through its control of the water supply.

El Bekri places the Ghomara to the west of, but not under the sway of, the kingdom of Nekor. Mestassa likewise was on the border, and the Senhaja lay to the west of it. Today the Senhajan tribe of Beni Gmil touches the tribe of Mestassa, thus presenting an unbroken line of Senhaja and Mestassa from the Wergha country to the Mediterranean. If, then, the Ghomara bordered on the kingdom of Nekor,[4] there must have been a gap between the Senhaja and Mestassa; but el Bekri may not have meant it literally, since it is really but a short distance from the junction of the Beni Gmil and Mestassa to the Ghomara.

Of the tribes said to be beyond the border tribes, the Beni Ulid, today forming part of the Senhaja of the Wergha, are still to be reckoned with. We know little of the Aureba, a name usually associated with Algeria, or of the Band of Ferhun, although in the Werghan tribe of Beni Wenjin today is a mountain cave of great size known as the *ifri n Ferhun*, or cave of Ferhun. Neither Beni Irnian nor Beni Merasen are names familiar today, although Za is now the name of a village of Beni Zerwal of the Jebala and the "hill called Taurirt" might be any hill, since in Berber *taurirt* means hill. The most important place today called Taurirt is the French fortress and wireless station on the road from Guercif to Ujda, and this may also be the hill mentioned in Sallust's *Jugurtha*.[4] If Kasem, lord of Za, held sway

[1] Date on Frejus's title-page.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[3] El Bekri, pp. 180–181.
[4] Gordon's translation, p. 253.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



●175 all the way from Taurirt beyond the Muluya to Beni Zerwal, he must have been a potentate indeed. As a matter of fact, his influence on the court of Nekor was great enough to persuade the second Saleh to put to death his brother Idris. The Zenata are listed as occupying the territory to the south of the Garet.[1]

The tribes which I have so far mentioned were border tribes of the kingdom of Nekor, and tribes beyond the borders. The tribes which figure most prominently as subject to the kings were Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Mekñassa, Branes, and Beni Itteft have likewise been mentioned as tributary.

El Bekri lists as the harbors dependent upon Nekor, Muluya, Herek, Garet, Marsa 'd Dar Auktis, Wed el Bakar, and el Mezemma. Muluya was apparently at the mouth of that river; Herek, bearing the same name as a mountain before mentioned, was apparently somewhere along the shoreline of the Galiya; Garet was no doubt at the mouth of the Kert; Marsa 'd Dar Auktis, according to el Bekri, was near the Mountain of Temsaman; Wed el Bakar, now Marsa Sidi Hasein, was at the mouth of the river bearing that name; and el Mezemma, the actual port of Nekor, was on the Bay of Alhucemas.[1] It is interesting that in this early account the important harbor and city of Melilla is not mentioned, wherefore one must conclude its Islamic settlement to have been of later date; Carthaginians and Romans may well have occupied it earlier.

Three other ports are mentioned, but not as belonging to Nekor. These were Bades, Bakuia, and Balish, the last-named belonging to the Senhaja.[2] Today Bokoya is a tribe and Bades a ruin, nor have the Senhaja any outlet upon the sea.

El Bekri has mapped out a Rif not radically different in tribal designations from what it is today, the chief difference being in the eastern and Garet section. Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and Beni Ulishk had not yet taken on their present appellations; Melilla had not been built, nor were the Galiya known as such; Beni Said was called Butuia, a term sometimes expanded to include a much larger region than that of the present Beni Said, and the nomads of the Garet, dominated then by Kolwé Jaña, had not adopted their modern names. The Senhaja and Ghomara to the west seem to have occupied much the same territory they hold today, although the tribes now lumped together as Senhaja el Ghuddu, Werghan Senhaja, or, in this volume, Western Arabophone Senhaja, are not designated as Senhajan in origin or affiliation.

The civilization of Nekor seems to have been a counterpart of that of Omeiyad Spain rather than of anything in the Moghreb. The reigning sovereigns were learned in the Malekite rite and led the prayer publicly in the mosque of the city.[3] Koranic learning must have been highly developed and its influence on the three nuclear tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman strong. Said ibn Saleh built on the banks of the Ghis a mosque rivalling that of Alexandria, and today, on the same site or nearby, stands the sanctuary of Sidi Yussuf, in which before the Riffian war three hundred or more students applied themselves to the Koran and magical lore.

Although the descendants of Saleh carried on the traditions of their ancestor in religious and intellectual matters, they could not have avoided becoming more and more Riffian in blood and in general manner of life, for there is but one record of a fresh infusion of Arab blood into a line which was half Berber to begin with, and the contacts with the rest of the

[1] El Bekri, p. 181.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 193–194.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



Arab world were few and, except those with Spain, bloody and unsought. We see them quarrelling among themselves and facing constant uprisings; we see the facile shiftings of loyalties and alliances, the high premium placed upon strategy and trickery, the practice of burning the houses of foemen defeated or driven off in a feud. These habits are distinctly Riffian in character.

## OTHER EARLY CENTERS

Nekor, although the chief source of Arab influence on the Rif during this early period, was by no means the only such city in the Rif. Bades,[1] the ruins of which now confront the Peñon de Velez, and Melilla [2] were important in their time, and there were a number of smaller towns along the coast.

Unlike Nekor, Bades antedated the Moslem invasions, having been built, as Marmol suggests,[3] by the Goths. Bades was a city of some seven hundred houses, occupied by fishermen and shipbuilders. The lord of Velez (Bades) kept a navy of thirty galleys, wherewith to resist attack and to raid the coast of Spain. He likewise held sway over the mountain Berbers behind the town, who came down to defend it in time of need. Marmol cites many battles between the men of Bades and the Spaniards, and Spanish raids on the stronghold itself.[3]

In 1508 Bades fell to the Spaniards, and in 1522 the Turks took it away from them, keeping it until 1564, when the Spaniards seem to have regained control of it.[4] The Spaniards did not occupy the city, which fell into ruins at some subsequent date. During recent times the Spanish government has maintained a prison camp and trading post on Peñon de Velez, a small stony island just off the site of Bades, and this post has been one of the three prime gates of entry for articles of European manufacture into the Rif, the others being the Isle of Alhucemas and Melilla.

The nature of Bades' population is left somewhat in doubt, although from Marmol's description of it one would judge it to have been Berber, excepting for a *mellah* containing one hundred houses of Jews, which he does not fail to mention.[5] Even the identity of the Lord of Velez is left in doubt. Bades may well have exerted an Arabizing influence on the surrounding tribes through its extensive trading contacts with the outside world.

Melilla was the last of the three great centres from which trade influences may have been diffused. It is a very old city, having, as we have seen,[6] probably been built by the Phoenicians. It was occupied by a family called Beni Urtedi, who although the nominal inhabitants of the place were not always in command.[7] In 926–927 Abd er Rahman, the Omeyyad ruler of Spain, captured it, and fortified it to serve as a stronghold for his ally Musa ibn Abi 'l Afia.[7] A century and a half later, however, the original Beni Urtedi seem to have come back into control of their own city, for at that time they invited Mohammed ibn Idris, a member of the Idrisite family, to come over from Spain and be their ruler, which he did.[8] After many serious battles the Spaniards finally captured Melilla in 1497, and have kept it ever since.[9]

[1] El Bekri, p. 151.
[2] Chap. 62.
[3] See below, p. 23.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, vol. II, p. 311.
[5] Moskin, p. 110; Marmol, chap. 92.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[7] Moskin, p. 111.
[8] El Bekri, p. 258.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



175 Two smaller cities near Melilla, Cacaca [1] and Tezota,[2] were dependent upon her, and seem to correspond more or less in position to the modern Selwan and Nador, although Tezota, having been built upon rock and having served as a natural fortress, can hardly be the same as Nador, which is built on flat ground. To both these cities as well as to Melilla came Venetian galleys, thus exposing this region to an additional source of trade influence.[3]

Tezota was destroyed by the second Merinid king of Fez, Yusuf ben Yakub, and was not rebuilt until the capture of Melilla by the Spaniards. It then became the refuge of Moors exiled from Granada.[3]

There were other cities in the region, but they seem to have been relatively unimportant and to have had little opportunity of influencing the local population, either in blood or in culture. The region around Melilla was submitted to the kingdom of Fez at the time when these events took place,[3] and so could hardly have escaped Arab influence in culture and perhaps in race.

Nekor, as we have seen, was the greatest centre in the Rif of the higher and earlier Arabic culture; Bades, although not necessarily of Arab foundation or inspiration, possessed an opportunity of bringing in outside factors, as, in a minor degree, did other smaller ports along the coast; Melilla, and to lesser extent Cacaca and Tezota, may have been instrumental in introducing both Zenatan and Arab influences (though not necessarily the same sort of Arab influence as at Nekor) to the eastern region.

## ARRIVAL OF THE BEDAWIN

There were two other great events, besides the establishment of Nekor and the activities of Bades and Melilla, which brought external cultures and peoples into contact with the Rif. These were the second Arab invasion of the Moghreb and the northward push of the Zenata under the Beni Merin.

This second wave of Arabs entered Morocco in the eleventh century.[3] It numbered, according to the historians, between 150,000 and 200,000 persons,[4] including women and children,[5] whom, unlike the earlier invaders, they had not neglected to bring with them. The families included in this great migration were Beni Hashem, Beni Ma'awia ben Bakr, Beni Hillal ben Amr ben Ṣaṣa, and Beni Soleim ben Mansur.[6] These various groups are generally united, for the sake of simplicity if not of accuracy, under the name of Beni Hillal. The invaders were nomadic Bedawin,[7] profoundly different from the aristocratic adventurers who three centuries before had conquered the country under the leadership of Okba. They were not there to propagate religion or to erect universities; their task was to find new pasturage for their flocks and new camping grounds; in short, they were immigrants numerous enough and primitive enough seriously to compete with the plains-dwelling Berbers for their land. Being Bedawin, they were ill-adapted to dislodging or even greatly influencing the Berbers of the mountains, who led by necessity a type of existence utterly opposed to

[1] Marmol, chap. 92.
[2] *Ibid.*, chap. 93.
[3] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, Introduction, pp. xxix, 28–51.
[4] Meakin, p. 32 (from Mercier, *Etablissement des Arabes*, p. 143).
[5] Gautier, p. 367 (from Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. 433).
[6] Meakin, p. 32 (from en Nasiri, vol. II, p. 77).
[7] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, pp. 28–29; Gautier, pp. 385–389.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



175 their own. The only logical place in the present Rif, northern Senhaja, and Ghomara which might have interested them was the plain of the Garet, and the lands immediately adjacent to it. This territory was easily reached, since travelers had but to follow downstream from the headwaters of the Muluya, a region to this day occupied by the Beni Hillal.[1] Bodies of them pressed along the eastern bank of the Muluya, while some of those who crossed this stream were powerful enough to remain, although mixed with Riffian blood. These were the Ulad Stut, "the children of the ogress," whose territory now lies between the tribes of Galiya, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Kebdana. The Ababda, today a family of nomads ranging in the northern Metalsa and counted as Metalsa but speaking only Arabic, may be another relic of a sporadic Hillali invasion.

These Hillali Arabs, although doubtless as worthy as their more acclaimed predecessors, were distinctly less cultured. Where they came into contact with the Berbers their influence could be none other than to destroy or weaken not only cultural factors of Berber origin but also Islamic rites and manners requiring a relatively high religious knowledge and degree of koranic literacy, both of which the Riffians had to a certain extent acquired from the dynasty of Saleh ibn Mansur and from other early Arab contacts.

The question of the invasions and influences of the Zenata is a much more difficult one than that of the Hillali Arabs, whose entrance can be definitely dated.

## THE ZENATAN INVASION

The Zenata, one of the great Berber families, according to the genealogists,[2] were native to the northern borders of the Sahara, between Zab and Tafilelt.[3] This territory seems to have been their early habitat and is occupied by members of their group today. They likewise extended, however, northward along the arm of the Sahara, which reaches up past Figuig and Tafilelt along the Muluya bed, reaching the sea in the arid expanse of the Garet.[4]

How early the Zenata, nomads by instinct, wandered up the Muluya into the territory now called the Rif is difficult to determine. Before the invasion of the Beni Merin — the classic and official entry of the Zenata — various tribes and families of them must have been working their way northward for a long while. El Bekri establishes the presence of Zenata two days' march north of Tafilelt.[5] Zenatan groups called the Zenata of Taberida[6] ranged on the outskirts of the territory of Nekor, and the Beni Yala (reigning in Tlemcen from 1002 to 1080) whose armies raided the Riffian kingdom, were of Zenatan origin.[7] Furthermore, the Beni Znassen, a Zenatan tribe now living between the Muluya and Ujda, were noticed in that territory in the thirteenth century.[8]

Whatever the contacts between the Riffians and the Zenata may previously have been, opportunity for their increase arose when the Beni Merin, the leading family of the Zenata, crossed the Atlas and attacked the Muwahaddi empire, centred in Fez.[9] The Beni Merin entered the Rif, presumably through the Garet and across Beni Tuzin, and defeated

[1] Arabs, presumably dating from this period, now occupy the land immediately south of the Gsennaya, in the neighborhood of Msun.

[2] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 175.

[3] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 195.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[5] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 121.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. I, Introduction, p. xxxiii, also vol. II, p. 288.

[7] Meakin, p. 89 (from Raod el Kartas, p. 400).

[8] El Bekri, p. 281.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



175 the Muwahaddi army in 1216 in a great battle on the banks of the Nekor,[1] a contest the reputation of which remains in oral tradition to this day.

Abd el Hakk, the Merinid ruler, married a woman of the Ulad Mahalla of Tafersit, according to Ibn Khaldun,[2] or of the Beni Tuzin, according to Marmol.[3] This Riffian woman became the mother of Yakub ibn Abd el Hakk, the third Merinid ruler of Fez, who, through his relationship with them, released the Beni Tuzin from all necessity of paying taxes or tribute of any kind.[3] In 1666, four centuries later, the evidence of Frejus indicates,[4] this privilege was withdrawn.

According to Marmol the Beni Tuzin are of Zenatan origin,[5] as are the Metalsa, whom one can recognize under his name of *Batalisa*,[6] especially as the *b* is retained to this day in the name which the Gzennaya call them, *Ibdarsen*. Marmol states definitely that the *Batalisa* were relatives of the Beni Merin and were sent into the territory of the Garet by them.[6]

The names Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit do not occur until after the invasion of the Beni Merin. The Beni Said are mentioned by Marmol,[6] who distinctly states that they were of the house of Ghomara. Although Marmol mistook a traditional alliance for a blood relationship, his statement indicates that elements in these two tribes were old enough to have participated in the war of the Senhaja and Ghomara, or at least old enough to have been assigned a part in this conflict by the *horror vacui* of tradition. The name *Beni Tuzin*, in its Berber original, *Asht Uzin*, means "the children of the half," thus perhaps implying a mixed origin.[7]

The path of the inroads of the Beni Merin may be clearly traced in the list of tribal ancestors given in the preceding chapter. Although we can thus date a definite Zenatan invasion of the Rif, we must not deduce from it that Zenatan influences had not been at work in the region earlier. El Bekri's mention of Zenata to the south of the Garet indicates that the Zenata were in his time neighbors, if not invaders. The Beni Merin may be said to have organised and intensified the Zenatan influence on the Rif, but not to have commenced it.

With the coming of the Zenata, the fifth and last of the great invasions of or diffusions into the Rif in history and in clear tradition took place. These five were the traditional invasions of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja, the first Arab invasion and the establishment of the kingdom of Nekor, the invasion of the Beni Hillal into Morocco, and the invasion of the Zenata. The three Berber and two Arab contacts described have had more recognizable influence upon the present racial and cultural composition of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara than have the hypothetical influences of classical civilizations and of the Vandals. After the fall of the Merinid empire the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara assumed their modern character, becoming increasingly jealous of outside interference and less and less known.

[1] Meakin, p. 90 (from Raod el Kartas, p. 406, and En Nasiri, vol. II, p. 4).
[2] Vol. II, p. 123. [3] Chap. 98. [4] Pages 37–38.
[5] Chap. 92. [6] Chap. 96.
[7] Ghirelli, following Schefer, the editor of Leo Africanus, claims that *Tuzin* is derived from *Tudyin*, or, following our own principles of transliteration, *Tujin*, the name of an important sub-group of the Zenatan stock. The only apparent basis for this is the similarity of the names, and the fact that Zenata invaded that region immediately before the name *Tuzin* first appeared. Schefer takes it for granted that in calling them *Tuzin* Moulieras was making a mistake, or was perpetuating the so-called mistake of Leo Africanus. Schefer's error is pardonable in view of the ignorance of Riffian geography in the time in which he wrote. See Ghirelli, *La Kabila de Beni Tuzin*, pp. 51–52; Leo Africanus, vol. II, p. 322, n. 1; Auguste Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. I, p. 113.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926), 1926
MX3 Rif MX3



them of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them *izakārn* (Iglíwa) or *izākdrĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; the Aiṭ Sádděn call them *iḥššóḍĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit

FIG. 3.—College student in Fez.

intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only an indication of language, not of race. There can be no doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in

[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
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175
[191]

Morocco are purely or essentially Berber by origin. The number of Arab immigrants from the East can only have been comparatively small. Those who came there as conquerors at the end of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century were only a handful of people. The chief invasion took place in the eleventh century, when several Bedouin tribes settled down in Barbary. Ibn ar-Raqīq estimated the number of these invaders at more than a million persons of both sexes and the number of combatants at fifty thousand;[1] but it seems that his estimates are considerably exaggerated.[2] In any case the invaders were spread over a large area, from Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, and we may presume that only a minority of them reached Morocco.[3] An anthropological investigation of over eight thousand natives of Eastern Barbary has led Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre to the conclusion that the number of Arab immigrants has always been insufficient to impress their type on the mass of the people, and that "the so-called Arab tribes of North Africa present the same somatic characteristics as other tribes which are incontestably Berbers".[4] It seems that among the tribes of Morocco north of the Great Atlas range a fair quantity of Arab blood may be found chiefly in those living between Alcazar and Laraiche and between the rivers Bū Ragrág and Ůmm r-Rbē' and a little farther south, whereas the other Arabic-speaking tribes mostly consist of Arabised Berbers who have changed their language.[5] I desire to emphasise that in speaking of "Arabs" in Morocco I simply make use of a term by which the people themselves denote the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the plains, while by "Berbers" I mean Berber-speaking people.

[1] Ibn ar-Raqīq, quoted by Marmol Caravajal, *L'Afrique*, i. (Paris, 1677), p. 275; and by Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by J. Pory (London, 1896), p. 139.

[2] G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), pp. 113, 733.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 515 *sq.*

[4] Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), pp. 347, 358.

[5] See Marçais, *op. cit.* map.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3)



631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908
175 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of
178 some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Rifians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghīl. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rīfī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the
175 rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became
178 absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith 'Alī, Sīdī 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Muḥand n Sī 'Amar of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3



Ḥadīfa, and 'Amar n Ṭāhir of Aịth 'Abdallāh.[2] This situation, with its concomitant *liff* alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muḥammad n 'Abd al-Karīm made his first appearance upon the Riffian scene. The story of 'Abd al-Karīm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a *qāḍī* of Ajdīr and not the *qā'id* of Aith Wuryāghil, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rif, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After 'Abd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from «fifth» to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Riffian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Muḥammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Riffian Army; his paternal uncle 'Abd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muḥ Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Aḥmad Būdra, now the *qā'id* of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerable objection on the part of *imghāren* of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered 'Abd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Government in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Riffians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the *liff* alliance system, had to be silenced if the Riffians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. 'Abd al-Karīm forced the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3



newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'ids* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren*; some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3



commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfīya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jībāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3



caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (babuches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

INTRODUCTION 1:

EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA AND THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga (1892-1949), whose work, both unpublished and published, on the social structures and political systems of the Berber-speaking tribes in the Rif Mountains of Northern Morocco we have tried, in the pages that follow, to render into reasonably acceptable English prose, was a colonel in the Spanish Army who, before his untimely death, had nearly twenty years' administrative experience amongst the people whereof he wrote.

A preliminary assessment, by the present author, of Emilio Blanco and of his published work, has already appeared elsewhere[1]; but although much of the material presented in it need not be restated here, in the light of further and later knowledge on my own part, some recapitulation, especially that dealing with Blanco's biography, is certainly necessary.

101 175 Blanco had much of extreme interest to say about the social structure and indeed about the everyday life of the Rifian tribesmen of what was then the Spanish, and now the North, Zone of Morocco, and especially about these same features, with particular attention to sociopolitical institutions, among the Aith Waryaghar: the key tribe, and the largest one, of the Central Rif, the tribe which always "commanded" in the region, the tribe which smashed the Pretender Bu Hmara

[113] 1--David Montgomery Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, VI, 2, Tetuan 1958, pp. 171-237.

in 1908, the tribe which, in 'Abd al-Krim, produced both a reformer of Customary Law and a military near-genius who from 1921 to 1926 held both Spain and France at bay, the tribe which I myself studied in detail in the field, as an anthropologist, intermittently, from 1953 to 1955 and again from 1959, intermittently, to 1966; and the tribe which in 1958 to 1959 provided, through a traditional revolt championing modern objectives, the Royal Army of Independent Morocco with its first serious test of streng

I assume that a good many anthropologists, in the course of their fieldwork, and in that of checking local libraries and archival materials about the tribal groups or societies that they have studied, have chanced across reports on these same tribes by previous colonial administrators of them which have been really meritorious in quality. If such is the case, many anthropologists may logically be supposed to have their "favorite" tribal administrators, district commissioners, or whatever. In my own case, Emilio Blanco Izaga, exasperating as certain facets of his writings are, is certainly the man.

This introduction to Blanco's work is divided into three sections: I) Biographical Data, II) The Spanish Protectorate Administration of Morocco And Blanco's Place In It, and III) A General Critique of Blanco's output as presented in this volume. This presentation is selective, not all-inclusive, because although much of Blanco's material dealt with Rifian sociopolitical institutions, not all of it did so, by any means. Hence, regarding my own initial acquaintance with Blanco's work, I can do not better to quote from my original article.[2]

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2--Op. cit., p. 173.

114 substance of each ganum. It is the concise, meticulous and exact nature of these comments which betray Blanco's mastery of the intricacies of Rifian Customary Law. And a second, undated report on Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Notes on the Rifian jma'th, the local community), which stems from the same period, and which I discovered in the African Section of the National Library in Madrid, adds further touches of value to Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel and to La Ley Rifeña: for indeed the published book and these various unpublished papers form an organic whole.

In 1940, Blanco wrote another long memorandum (again in the African Section of the Madrid National Library) on the tribe of the Igzinnayen, a nuclear Rifian tribe (bordering the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth on the south), but at the time under French administrative control across the zonal border. By virtue of the original treaty of the protectorate, Spain should have had control of this tribe rather than France, Blanco cogently argues (in the colonialistic idiom of the time), because its mountains, higher than those of the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth, dominate both of them militarily. [175] What had happened was that France had moved up from the south to occupy the Igzinnayen in 1926, effectively, as a result of the war against 'Abd al-Krim and the pincer movement waged against him by both the European powers concerned; and that this fact was resented by Spain emerges clearly in Blanco's report. However, this same report, entitled La Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia, although not the result of on-the-spot investigation, is based both on unpublished French documents and on

holders in the new protectorate administrations were given different titles in each zone, one is nonetheless tempted to imagine that their "job descriptions" must have resembled each other closely.

There was, however, one very important difference: the French administration was only partially military in character, while the Spanish one (except during the civilian years of the Spanish Republic, 1931-1936) was, to all intents and purposes, totally so. Indeed, one of the major roles of Spanish Morocco, one which was always assumed but seldom explicitly mentioned, was that of acting as a training ground for the Spanish Army. Hence the history of the protectorate and its up-and-down support and opposition in the Iberian Peninsula, which is not our concern here, is more closely linked to that of Spain itself than that of French Morocco is to metropolitan France.

Only the initial blueprints for the administration of the Spanish Zone were laid down in 1912-1913, however, because the pacification of the protectorate had to be taken care of before any ground rules could be made to apply in a positive manner. In grossly simplified terms, this involved first the subjugation (on a back-and-forth basis) of the notorious holy man-cum-bandit Raisuni and his cohorts in the Jbala region in 1913-1920; then the far more serious task of putting down (with French help) 'Abd al-Krim and the Rifians in 1921-1926; and finally, the mopping-up of the last pockets of resistance in the Sinhaja Srir and Ghmara areas, in the center of the zone, and between the Jbala and the Rif, in 1926-1927. Hence full-scale implementation of the new administrative structure could not begin until total tribal disarmament had been completed, in July 1927.

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175 161 114 (Sanchez Perez mentions the population density of the Aith Waryaghar, in the mid-1940s, as being 65 individuals per sq. km., a figure which would be outrageously high for much of the Atlas Mountains today, but which by the time of the 1960 census had in Waryagharland - or at least in the Plain of al-Husaima - doubled, virtually, to 120...[16])

000 Such facts indeed reflect the density of the local tribal population in the North Zone, but they also reflect the density of the local administration - and nothing has been said about urban administration, at that. The total population of the North Zone, in the 1950s, was just under a million; and even so, the thickness at ground level of administrative personnel would argue for a very direct form of administration. In actual fact, this was not quite so.

Each of the five territories of the zone had its Interventor Territorial, usually a lieutenant-colonel who reported directly to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan. Below him, in the administrative hierarchy, were several Interventores Comarcales, usually majors, and then Interventores de Primera Clase, usually captains, who were often seconded by lieutenant Interventores de Segunda who were the neophytes of the service, young men sent out to learn.

The real point about the intervencion system in the tribal areas, however, is that the Spanish interventor de primera, usually a captain, and the qaid or chief of the tribe which he administered were opposite numbers, each in his own separate hierarchy. For the interventor de

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[113] 16--Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifeños", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952, Tetuan: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29-47 (my ref. to p. 31).

000 primera was low man, generally, on an administrative totem pole which went back through the interventor comarcal, then through the interventor regional, and finally back to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan - and, ultimately, up to the High Commissioner. [631] Yet this same interventor was on a par with the tribal qaid, usually a man nearly twice his own age, who himself happened to be at the top of his own particular pyramid, consisting (administratively) of village or community mqaddim, clan or "fractional" shaikh, and, finally, qaid of the tribe, the ceiling administrative unit (except in the case of the Aith Waryaghar, who, until Emilio Blanco appeared, were rather too large for effective administration along normal lines...). But the break in the system occurred just at the qaid-interventor point, at the point, precisely, of foreign administrator and local strongman - and in theory, the latter could only pipeline messages back to the capital through the former - though in fact, if he were wise and should the situation require it, he generally had other methods of communication as well. (And since Independence, although the qaid is often a non-local civil servant, and although his local shaikhs and mqaddmin, of clans and villages respectively, depend, as he himself does, on the Ministry of Interior, their own particular abilities at "break-through" even to the local provincial authorities depend on the number of friends they have "at court", and on the local patronage-clientage network. Rifians, at least, state categorically that in Spanish times the qaid, whatever his shortcomings, was one of themselves, and, in retrospect, that the Spanish Intervención usually tended to choose the right man for the job.)

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619 Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
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d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyan, Tibza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal (628) (616) struggles between lfuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

175 554 unwillingly brought the rest of the tribe into Bu Hmara's camp.

Bu Hmara, leaving the tribal organization as he found it, limited himself to transforming the existing shiyukh into qa'ids. The names of some of these men have been preserved: Muhammad wuld 'Allal, Midbuh, Muhush Kahwi, Buhut r-'Asimi and 'Allal n Dahu. Divide in order to rule; such was Bu Hmara's idea, severe and brutal. Under his command the Igzinnayen came to swell up his contingents to fight in Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman; and they were finally put in check in front of Silwan.

After Bu Hmara was taken prisoner, brought to Fez and executed by Sultan Mulay Hafidh, in 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.), he continued to weigh on the tribe, which did not want him....Then anarchy returned.[172] We now see the appearance of Sidi Hmid Midbuh, son and grandson of the Qa'id Midbuh, and also a qa'id himself, in the Jibarna. Faithful to the Rogi Bu Hmara, he defended himself against the Hajj Hammada, who, far from enjoying the favors of Bu Hmara, had been executive after what happened at Silwan. The two families, already divided, came to show an increase in the number of their partisans.

Evil instincts now had free rein. The agreeable life of pillage, theft and murder began anew, with its concomitant of the exclusive satisfaction of the strong. 'Abd al'Malik found the tribe in this situation in 1333 (1915). He got the best group on his side, 175 648 554 because of the fact that aside from the facilities of command which he was given, he received important subsidies from Germany; and he did not hesitate for a moment to utilize the ancient quarrels in order to make his authority more secure. At this point, French forces had begun to penetrate the Sharifian Empire.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3 Igzinnayen

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The French advance in eastern Morocco hardly attracted the attention of the Igzinnayen in the beginning. The infidel was still far away, and, as for the rest, "God would provide." On their arrival at Minada, the events embroidered upon by market story-tellers increased their curiosity. One of their notables, the Hajj Hammada, presented himself to the French authorities. On their arrival at Msun, the Qa'id Midbuh, the Hajj Hammada, his nephew Muhand u Haddu, and all the rest of the notables of the southern Igzinnayen all went to look for them. Nevertheless, the French advance was a direct threat, and the Igzinnayen began to turn up as members of the harkas which fought against them. Importance was attributed to the numbers of these harkas, insofar as they came near the French, even without a definite order of battle.

At this point, 'Abd al-Malik, coming from Tetuan, entered the scene; thrown out by the Ghiyata, he succeeded in enlisting the cause of the Igzinnayen, especially those of Asht Yunis through his good relations with Si Hmid Ubarshan[173] and with Shaikh Hmid n 'Amar. He was spoken of throughout the mountains thanks to his open-handed palm-greasing, and thanks also to his tireless activity. He convoked the Igzinnayen in successive igrawn, the first at the Monday Market of Azru[174] and the second, a little later, along the banks of the Msun River, about 2 km. from the present gates of Kifan. The Qa'id Midbuh was frightened at this move, and after hiding by night with some fifteen of his agnates, he gained the French lines, while the Hajj Hammada, definitely conquered, received large compensations.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

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'Abd al-Malik, aided by his German collaborator Hermann, sought friendships through money, and spread his propaganda among the Dharwa Haddu through the Hajj Hammada and his son 'Abdssram. Dedicated to their desires, they swelled up the harkas and suffered heavy losses; but the Igzinnayen did not hesitate to abandon and betray 'Abd al-Malik on the day that fortune went against him. His favorite, the Hajj Biqqish, who had sung his praises louder than anyone else, was the very first to rob him when he came to seek refuge amonst the Asht 'Asim.

The Hajj Muhand Biqqish, a notable of Thiddas in Ikhuwanen of Asht 'Asim, takes up all the internal history of Igzinnayen before the French occupation and the domination of 'Abd al-Krim. Having risen to the top through his indisputable merits as a warchief, he extended his power over all of Igzinnayen and a part of the Aith Waryaghar[175]. In 1913 and 1914, we find him in the Jbil Shaushau (?) of Bu Nakris (?) at the head of a harka which fought the French in Msun, in Taza, and in bil-Qasim in the country of the Miknasa. In 1915 he put himself at the disposition of the Hajj Mamun ash-Shangiti.

An excellent administrator, and having on the other hand a constant care about his own person and a great deal of knowledge of tribal politics, the exercise of justice was a considerable source of income to him thanks to certain rights toward discounts which he claimed and pocketed, and other ways of assuaging his conscience; and he thus increased his resources very considerably. He got rich and acquired lands and fields. He inherited the family house from his father in Tighza (Ikhuwanen), and another in Thiddas, as well as land formerly belonging to the subclan of Thimarzga of Aith Waryaghar,

175 on the mountain of Afuzar. In the latter place he built a large house
648 with a huge wall around it, according to the locals; this house is
554 known as Dhaddarth n Biqqish[176]. With 'Amar Hamidu, the qa'id of
Marnisa, he helped 'Abd al-Malik against the French. When the French
648 routed 'Abd al-Malik at Kifan on 13 Safar 1336 A.H. (November 28, 1917),
554 the latter took refuge in Biqqish's house. 'Amar Hamidu became hostile to Biqqish over the possession of the Wednesday Market at Buridh, but when 'Abd al-Malik appeared at Sidi 'Ari n Dawud[177], they patched up their differences in order to help him, until the day that he took refuge in Thafarsith. This friendship between the two chiefs of Marnisa and Igzinnayen lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim. In 1921, Biqqish, advised by 'Amar Hamidu, refused to join the Rifians of 'Abd al-Krim in their struggle against Spain. In 1922, 'Abd al-Krim attacked him and, abandoned by more and more of his followers, Biqqish, vacillating, had almost decided to place himself under Spanish protection; but afterward he reconsidered and submitted to 'Abd al-Krim. His son Si Hmid then was given a qa'idship.

By 1924 the importance of the younger Biqqish, Si Hmid, had notably decreased. Finally, in 1925, at the time of the all-out attack on the French front, the elder Biqqish and his son were detained by 'Abd al-Krim for questioning. After three months, in order to ascertain the feelings of the taciturn and mysterious Biqqish, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to the region of Branis to inspect the front and to keep inciting the war against the Christians.

Sick and irreductible, the old man set himself up in the Friday Market of Branis and did nothing. He was denounced and brought

671 in or interfere with our qanuns" (which I have already published) "be-
177 cause this had been so agreed previously. At that time, during the
124 'Ripublik', it only had jurisdiction over matters pertaining to land, marriage and divorce. In the clan of Sidi Yusif (i.e. Imrabdhen), there was always a qadi; but he only had to do with matters relating to property, marriages, divorces and other related items."

671 In my opinion, the survival of custom is clear, and it con-
177 tinues to be so today; and not through any lack of knowledge of Muslim law, either. What I do wonder is whether the Shari'a in the Rif is becoming Berberized, or whether custom is becoming Arabized, which is not the same thing.[3]

C) The Survival of Custom: An Explanation:

The Rifians were not and are not in the least unaware of the existence of the Shari'a, but there are reasons why they have in so many ways become estranged from it and have applied customary or common law, transmitted by tradition and revealed in not a few cases by written documents, through which they have tried many times to establish and to codify it.

A major factor here was the material impossibility, in which the Rifians found themselves, of applying Koranic precepts, owing to the constant state of revolt of the area, even though (author's italics) these were reconcilable with custom...Also, we can by no means assume that throughout the recorded history of the Rif there were no men qualified to interpret the Shari'a, particularly in cities such as Badis and Nakur.[4]

[175]

671 To what, then, can we attribute the persistence of custom, to

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

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691 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

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[113]

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

[131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hesperis, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imnudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah, in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply conservative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 619 114 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 728 184 982 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 [175] 49--Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

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[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Thaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used [161] for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the
[113] sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the
[131] eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present
[648] sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts, fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

175 century a pretender to the Sultan's throne, Bow Hamara, seeking
648 to consolidate his position in the north, invaded the Rif. He was halted in 1908 on the shores of the Nekor by the Beni Wariyaghar (Maldonado, n.d.:486) who united not to save a crown but to preserve their own autonomy.

175 What we do know of the early history of the Rif is not so much definite historical material whereby one can discuss the contents of an event and its eventual repercussions, but rather the sociocultural background of the tribes.

174 Regarding the original populating of the Rif there is no
16 definite information. The people who live there today may have lived there prior to the Arabic invasion of the seventh century and certainly did live there by the second invasion of the eleventh century according to el-Bekri's account. They may have been pushed into this area by the first Arabic invasion or by other Berber tribes at earlier dates. The ruggedness of the terrain and the difficulty of earning even a subsistence suggests that migration to the Rif was not voluntary. The Rif mountains hardly constitute a promised land. Though it is only conjecture, I suspect that the Rif was first populated by small groups of kinsmen living in the lowlands of the Taza Province who were forced because of the blood feuds to leave their original homestead and take up residence in these inaccessible areas. There is a certain justification for this belief since the present population distribution in the Rif is due mainly to small segments of original lineages fleeing the consequences of the blood feud.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3



175 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The
648 Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba,
651 or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as
(648) it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal
619 lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social
613 group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

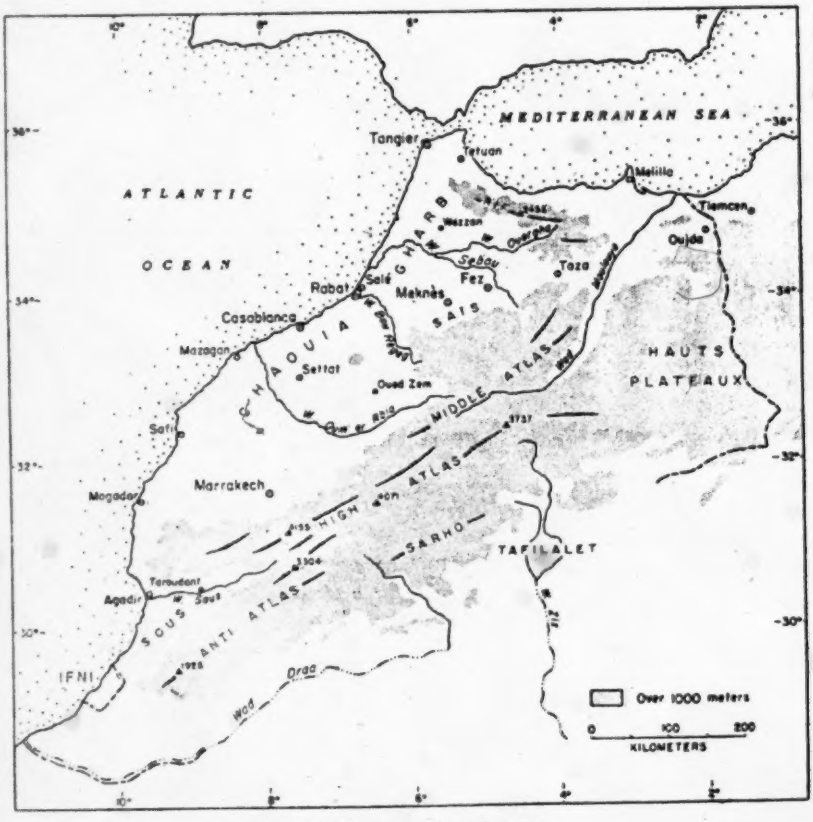


Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[6]

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air. One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[7] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[8] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[6] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[7] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[8] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2



and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman.[1] Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[2] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[3] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[1] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

## Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

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assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[20]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

## Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[19] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[20] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



175 established at Rusaddir (Melilla), Tingi (Tangier), and one or more intermediate points, but the regular chain of trading stations did not extend west of Cartennae (Ténès).[21] The strong strategic position of Carthage and the comparable one of Gades enabled the Carthaginians, who were uncompromisingly intolerant of interlopers, to prevent any interference with their trade by foreigners. There was no need to occupy a continuous stretch of the north African coast.

Active interest in the Atlantic coast of Morocco seems to have been delayed until after Tartessos had been destroyed and the Carthaginians had gained control of the Spanish silver mines. Even then the commercial importance of Carthage continued to be based upon its privileged situation at the contact of the two Mediterranean basins. The evidence, both historical and archaeological, suggests that Punic merchants did not develop a serious interest in the open sea until after the commercial possibilities of Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and western Iberia had been thoroughly explored.[22] In classical time, Mare Altum was thought to be a domain of "demons, eerie darkness, mudflats, and immense fields of seaweed" from which no ship could free itself. But, as Paul Hermann suggests, these tales may have been deliberately spread by the various powers in control of the Strait to discourage competition.[23]

The periplus of the Carthaginian admiral Hanno, who between 475 and 450 B.C. led an expedition of discovery and colonization to the Atlantic coast of Africa, still gives rise to long arguments.[24] It is not necessary to review the arguments for and against the notion that he sailed as far as the Gulf of Guinea. The important point is that this expedition was commissioned to found colonies on the Moroccan coast. Six colonies are named in the periplus, but no two scholars agree on their location. Punic remains have been unearthed only at Tingi (Tangier), at Lixus (near Larache), and on a rocky islet off Mogador,[25] but other settlements are mentioned in inscriptions or on coins.

Carthage itself rapidly became a great metropolis, but the Carthaginian land empire was never large. In the third century B.C. it seems to have included nearly all northern Tunisia but very little of Algeria, apart from a narrow zone along the coast. Much of eastern Algeria became Punic in language and culture, but the more remote trading stations were separated by large areas under barbarian control. "The power of Carthage," as Miss Semple suggests, "was based on its overseas trade and the land beneath its feet, not on the big continent at its back."[26]

The Carthaginians were so successful in concealing their secrets that we can draw only tentative inferences about the nature of their trade. It is likely that

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[21] Ch.-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* (2d ed., Paris: Payot, 1956), I, 65, and fig. 4.

[22] On the chronology of Phoenician expansion, see Rhys Carpenter, "Phoenicians in the West," *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, 62 (1958), 35–53.

[23] Paul Hermann, *Conquest by Man* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1954), p. 36. The Carthaginians sought to prevent other powers from gaining access to the tin of Cornwall and Brittany. The exclusion of the Greeks and Romans from the coastal waters of the western Mediterranean is reflected also in the paucity of information given by the classical authors about the African trade.

[24] For an English translation of the periplus, see B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (London: Robert Hale, 1960), pp. 62–64.

[25] For discussion of the probable range of Punic settlement in Morocco see Pierre Cintas, *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1954).

[26] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 141.

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most of the Punic trade was of an entrepot nature, with goods carried from one country to another or raw materials exchanged for finished products. The Carthaginians were not dependent on Africa itself for the support of their trade. Indeed, the Berber tribes of the littoral were probably too primitive to be able to make any great contribution to it. Wool, skins, timber, purple dye, ivory, and ostrich feathers were the principal local products that found their way into foreign ports. It is not known whether the Carthaginians imported gold or slaves from across the Sahara, but it is reasonable to suppose that Hanno's expedition was intended to establish an easier route for such a trade.[a]

It follows that cultural changes during this period should be described largely in terms of diffusion or drift, not as a direct exchange. The Carthaginian merchants carried not only the objects of their trade but also customs and techniques, ideas and beliefs. Elements of Punic culture, both material and nonmaterial, seem to have spread far beyond the coastal towns. Some of these innovations were obscured in later centuries by Roman and Arab influence, but a Punic substratum can still be discerned in Berber culture.

When the first Thalassic traders reached Barbary, the native peoples were growing barley and wheat, and used all the domestic animals (except the dromedary) now found in the area. The vine, pomegranate, almond, walnut, and olive may have been introduced to Barbary by the Phoenicians. Each of these trees is grown by cuttings, a technique previously unknown in northern Africa. A pre-Roman introduction of the oleaster is a necessary part of the thesis that this tree is not really a wild race, for in Roman time a clear distinction was made between cultivated and "wild" trees. As a result of all or part of these introductions, northern Africa began to shift from cereal farming and transhumance to a Thalassic agriculture of terraced orchards and gardens. Barley and wheat remained the staples, but the diet probably came to include a greater variety of vegetables and salad plants. The Carthaginians may have introduced refinements of irrigation technique also.

Another result of Punic influence is that tools tipped with iron replaced implements of wood, stone, and bronze.[b] Although evidence is lacking, it may be presumed that stone architecture was adopted in some areas in place of cruder construction with mud bricks, straw, and hides. The family crafts of the Berbers probably were not greatly altered, for the Carthaginians were indifferent craftsmen, and in northern Africa even today there is an almost complete separation between the arts of the countryside and those of the towns. But the rural tribesmen must have had ample opportunity to observe and test new ideas and new techniques. In each tribe there would have been several men who had served the Carthaginians as mercenary soldiers, and many tribal areas were attached, at least partly, to native kingdoms that were under Punic control. Evidence of Punic influence has been recovered at several Roman sites. At Lixus, some megalithic tombs, anterior to the Roman tradition, are clearly Punic. Subterranean tombs

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41]

[a] For discussion of this possibility see E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 22 ff.

[b] It used to be said that northern Africa moved from the Stone Age to the Iron Age without passing through an intermediate era of bronze. It is now known that bronze implements were used in many parts of Barbary at the time of the Phoenician invasion. G. Camps, "Les traces d'un âge du bronze en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 104 (1960), 31–55.

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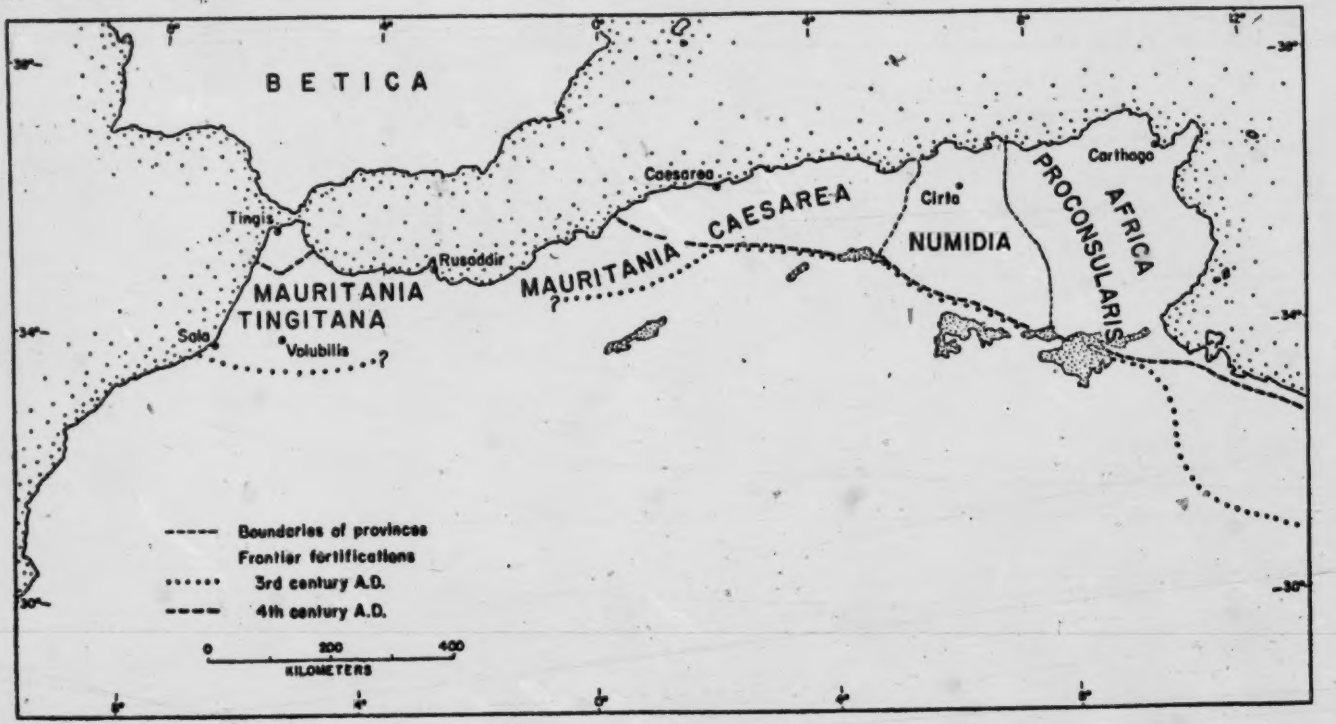


Fig. 10. North Africa: Roman provinces and fortifications.

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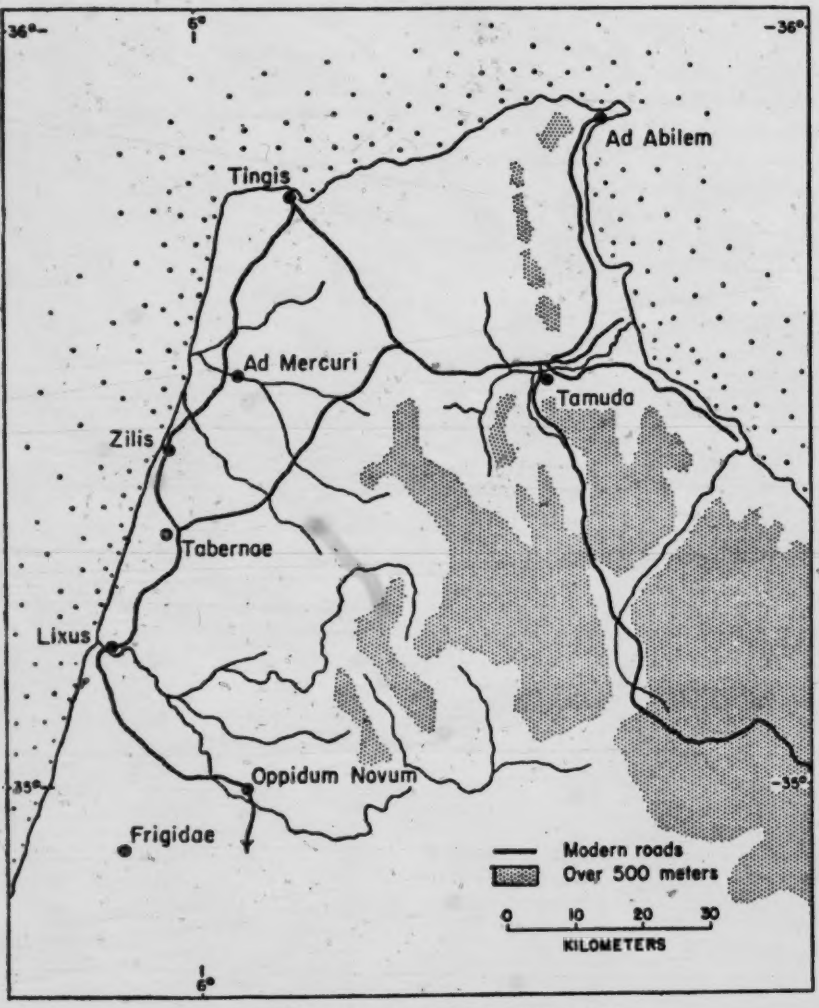


Fig. 11. Mauritania Tingitana, fourth century.

175 of the same tradition have been discovered at Taza, and neo-Punic inscriptions appear at several sites. Indeed, at Volubilis the two officials who were in charge of the municipal government at the time of Roman annexation had the Carthaginian title of *suffete* (magistrate).[20]

The effect of Carthaginian influence was to draw northern Africa into the Mediterranean world. Morocco was the last area to be attracted, and the impact of

[20] For other examples of neo-Punic influence in Roman times see Terrasse, *op. cit.*, I, 47, cited in note 20.

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• 175 Punic civilization was certainly stronger in the littoral zone than in the highlands. Nevertheless, the pattern of life must have changed, even in the more remote areas, between the time of Hanno's voyage and the arrival of the Romans.

After the third Punic war, which ended in 146 B.C., the area directly controlled by Carthage became a Roman province, the Provincia Africa. Long experience in administering conquered territories had taught the Romans that it is difficult to control an expanding frontier. They resolved, therefore, to restrict their occupation to Carthage and its hinterland.[a] At first this resolution was accepted, but in time the hostility of the native tribes and the ambition of the Roman commanders led to wider conquest. Numidia, roughly eastern Algeria, was occupied in 45 B.C., and in A.D. 46 the Emperor Claudius created two new provinces, known as Mauritania Caesariensis and Mauritania Tingitana from their capitals Caesarea (Cherchell) and Tingis (Tangier). With these annexations the whole of the north African littoral came under Roman rule.

The extent of Roman control can be roughly delimited by the remains of an elaborate system of frontier defenses (fig. 10). The word for such a system—*limes*—denoted not only material barriers but also forts, camps, and roads behind the line and outposts and watchtowers in advance of it.[b] This system of defense in depth was designed to delay attackers until reserves could be brought to the frontier zone. In Tunisia and eastern Algeria the defensive system was intended to prevent raids by nomads from the pre-Saharan zone—a problem the Romans helped to create by introducing the dromedary.[c] In Mauritania and the western sector of Numidia the system was apparently designed to protect the fertile plains from attacks by the unsubdued mountain tribes. Responsibility for the defense of much of the frontier was relegated to retired legionaries or peasant soldiers (*limitanei*), who established semimilitary colonies, comparable to the *kibbutzim* of modern Israel. When they were first organized, most of the *limitanei* were probably recruited from troops already on the frontier. Later, land was given to Latinized barbarians.[d]

In Tingitana at the end of the second century, the fortified frontier started on the Atlantic coast, a few kilometers south of Rabat, and then continued eastward between the Rif chain and the Middle Atlas. The easternmost outpost yet discovered is at Bou Hellou, between Fez and Taza. Although archaeological evidence is lacking, there is reason to believe that Tingitana and Mauritania Caesariensis were linked by a military road.

The part of Morocco directly controlled by the Romans was a triangular area bounded by Tingis and Ad Abilem (Ceuta) on the north and by Sala (Rabat)

[a] As Terrasse notes, *ibid.*, p. 48, "Rome ne s'était installée en Afrique que pour garder la tombe de Carthage."

[b] *Limes* means the whole defensive system, while *fossatum* refers to an artificial barrier consisting of a ditch and wall. Only slight traces of the *fossatum* were known until recently. These were on the frontier of Tingitana near Fez and to the southwest of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria. Air photography has revealed other sections of considerable length. J. Baradez, *Fossatum Africae: vue-aérienne de l'organisation romaine dans le sud-algérien* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1949). [113]

[c] For evidence of the probable date of this introduction, see M. W. Mikesell, "Notes on the Dispersal of the Dromedary," *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 11 (1955), 231–245, reprinted in *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 18 (1956), 895–912. [113]

[d] B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). [113]

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175 and some point near Fez on the south. After the reform of Diocletian in A.D. 285, Tingitana was attached to the diocese of Betica. This transfer doubtless was made because of the difficulty of communication between Tingitana and the rest of Roman Africa. The road going westward from Carthage ended at Caesarea, where the traveler desirous of proceeding farther was forced to put to sea; and he could find no road nearer than Tingis or Ad Abilem, the points of debarkation."

From the standpoint of political geography, the main function of Tingitana was to guard the southern flank of Betica. Volubilis was a city of impressive size, and there must have been extensive colonization in the fertile plains of the Gharb. Nevertheless, when it was no longer easy to control the southern base of the triangle, Volubilis was abandoned, and the southern boundary of Tingitana was withdrawn to the line of Wad Lukkus and Wad Lao. This withdrawal, effected toward the end of the third century, reduced Tingitana to one-tenth of its original size."

The part of Morocco that remained under Roman control consisted of little more than the coast opposite Gibraltar and a small part of the Atlantic lowland (fig. 10). The principal settlements were confined to the plains and terraces of the littoral zone. There is no evidence as yet of Roman towns or outposts in the highlands, although there may have been scattered colonies on the Rifian coast." In northern Morocco the number of suitable urban sites was and is limited. Tingis, Ad Abilem, Zilis, and Oppidum Novum occupied the same sites as the modern towns of Tangier, Ceuta, Arcila, and Ksar al-Kebir. Tamuda and Lixus were only a few kilometers from modern Tetuán and Larache. The close relationship of ancient and contemporary patterns is revealed also by the alignment of Roman settlements along the routes of the modern roads (fig. 11).

The principal functions of the Roman towns probably were similar to those of their modern counterparts. Tingis and Ad Abilem were the great ports of Tingitana and the termini of the roads. Tamuda was a focus of land transportation and the head of navigation for the Río Martín." Lixus, at the mouth of Wad Lukkus, must have enjoyed a lively trade, for a long stretch of this river was still navigable in the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese arrived." Ad Mercuri, Zilis, Tabernae, and Oppidum Novum served as military posts on the road from Tingis to Sala and Volubilis. There is archaeological evidence of other posts on the roads from Tingis to Tamuda and Ad Abilem."

Most of the highland zone was evidently beyond the limits of effective Roman control; the colonies on the Mediterranean coast, with the possible exception of Rusaddir, functioned as ports of call and not as trading outlets for the interior.

175 " Raymond Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1924), p. 39.
" The causes and consequences of this change are described by Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 70 ff.; and M. Tarradell, "La crisis del siglo III de J. C. en Marruecos," *Tamuda*, 3 (1955), 75–105.
113 " For the names of settlements as yet undiscovered, see P. César Morán and G. Guastavino Gallent, *Vías y poblaciones romanas en el norte de Marruecos* (Madrid: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, 1948).
" For further information on Tamuda, see M. Tarradell, "Las excavaciones de Tamuda de 1949 a 1955," *Tamuda*, 4 (1956), 71–85.
" T. García Figueras, *Expedición de los Portugueses al Río de Larache y fundación de la fortaleza de "La Graciosa" en el Lukus* (Larache: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1941).
" For a preliminary report of the excavation of one such post, see M. Tarradell, "El Benian: Castellum Romano entre Tetuán y Tanger," *Tamuda*, 1 (1953), 303–309.

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175 Roman territorial organization seems to have been strikingly similar to the pattern of European occupation during the protectorates. Roman influence, like Spanish influence, must have been considerable in the lowlands, but it is unlikely that many of the mountain tribes were subdued. In Roman time, as in recent years, the principal agents of cultural change would have been tribesmen who had served as mercenary soldiers.

The Roman occupation probably did not have an important influence on the racial composition of the Moroccan tribes. There was no large immigration from Italy during the period of conquest, and after the new provinces were occupied a large part of the Roman army was recruited locally. Even in the cities of Proconsular Africa, where Roman influence was strongest, many names found on inscriptions are merely Latin translations of Berber names.[a] Native preponderance in Numidia and Mauritania, where the cities were fewer in number and the proportion of Italian immigrants smaller, must have been even greater. In Roman time, as today, the Rif and Atlas mountains were the areas least affected by foreign influence. Yet it must be remembered that cultural change does not depend on face-to-face relationships. Roman goods and ideas penetrated far beyond the imperial frontiers.[b] The extent of Roman influence in northern Africa is illustrated by the presence of coins and implements of the second and third centuries at the tomb of the Tuareg queen Tin Hanan in the heart of the Sahara.[c] The Romans' concept of defense in depth and their willingness to recruit barbarians facilitated acculturation.

If it is reasonable to suggest that the basic patterns of cereal farming and pastoral life are anterior to Punic influence, and that horticulture was introduced by the Carthaginians, few agricultural innovations can be ascribed to the Romans. Perhaps their greatest contribution was the perfection of dry farming and irrigation. But most of the crops cultivated by the Romans were already known in northern Africa, and it is safe to infer that the date palm was cultivated in that region before the Romans arrived.[d] The Romans probably introduced the dromedary, but the first camels may not have reached northern Morocco until after the Arab invasions.

Roman contributions in metallurgy, architecture, and urban planning are more readily discerned. The *qsar* of the oases, according to Terrasse, retains the outline and often the orientation of the Roman *castrum*, and the *tighremt* with its four towers is nothing but a *castellum* transposed into Berber architecture.[e] The general aspect of the fortified hamlets in southern Morocco suggests Egyptian or east African influence, but Terrasse is probably correct when he assumes that many of the details of the *qsar* represent ancient attempts to emulate Roman style.

It is not known when Christianity came to Morocco, but this faith apparently

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[a] For evidence in support of this point, see Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 69–75, cited in note 33.

[b] For evidence of the extent of Roman penetration, see Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955).

[c] E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[d] This inference is supported by Herodotus' reference (*History*, IV, 183) to "palms of the fruitful kind" in the Fezzan.

[e] Terrasse, *op. cit.*, I, 70 ff., cited in note 20

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175 persisted long after the termination of Roman control. At Volubilis, epitaphs dated A.D. 599, 605, and 655 prove the survival of Latin and Christian order up to the eve of the Muslim invasion.[a] The extent of Christian expansion beyond the *limes* is difficult to trace, but the rapid expansion of Islam, which raced ahead of most of the Arab innovations, suggests that Christianity may have spread beyond the Roman military and economic frontiers. Arabic writers point to the presence in the eighth century of a Christian community at the foot of the High Atlas,[b] and several tribes in the mountains of northern Morocco still retain notions of Christian ancestry.[c] Most of the Berber tribes still use the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into the Berber tongues; these facts suggest Christian influence, for the association of religion and agriculture is a fundamental aspect of Berber culture. Unconsciously, Moroccans still associate Christianity with Rome, for in Maghribi Arabic the term usually applied to an infidel is "Roumi" (Roman).

In A.D. 429 what was left of Roman authority in northern Africa was challenged by the Vandals. The route of their invasion is unknown. Procopius says only that they "crossed the strait at Gadira (Cádiz) and came to Libya."[d] Some scholars believe that the army was transferred by sea as far as the site of modern Algiers;[e] others trace the invasion through the Taza corridor.[f] In any event, a year after their departure from Spain the Vandals were besieging Hippone (Bone), and within ten years they were masters of Carthage. Once victorious, the Vandals limited their activity to Proconsular Africa, roughly northern Tunisia. Except for occasional contacts during the conquest, it is unlikely that they exerted any influence on the Berber tribes. As Coon remarks, "the popular theory of a Vandal origin of blondism in north Africa is historically unsupportable."[g]

In A.D. 533 a Byzantine army landed on the Syrtic coast. It soon disposed of the Vandals, and within three months the Byzantine commander reported that Africa was "Roman" again. Tangier and Ceuta became Byzantine outposts, but their only function was to guard the Strait of Gibraltar. Little is known of Moroccan history during the half century that remained before the beginning of the Arab invasion. During this interval the Visigoths crossed over from Spain and took possession of Ceuta and part of Ghmara, but their influence probably did not extend beyond the coast.[h]

## Arabization

Forays into Cyrenaica and Tripolitania followed soon after the Muslim conquest of Egypt in 640. The conquest of Barbary began thirty years later when Uqbah ibn-Nafi invaded Tunisia, founded Qayrawan, and undertook an expedition toward the west. This expedition had no durable result. Later, when the Byzantines had

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[a] The evidence of Christian survival is examined in Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 76 ff.
[b] Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, I, 64.
[c] This tradition seems to be especially strong among the tribes of Sanhaja as-Srair. See Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 16 ff., cited in note 4.
[d] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, III, 3.
[e] B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A. D. 461* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), III, 344.
[f] C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1955).
[g] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 26.
[h] Ibn Khaldun comments on the Visigoths, but does not mention the Vandals.

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175 been eliminated, Berber resistance was broken, and Musa ibn-Nusayr was able, from 703 to 711, to resume the conquest. In Morocco he followed the route of Uqbah, through the Taza corridor, and eventually the Atlantic plains were brought under Umayyad rule. But the progress of Islam was slow. At the end of the eighth century, Christians still lived on the plains, and pagans controlled the highlands.[44]

It is useful to think of Arabization as a process carried forward in three overlapping stages. The first stage was the initial contact between the Arab invaders and the native Christians and pagans. The second stage began with the arrival of Arab bedawin in the eleventh century. During the third stage, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, Arabization was accelerated by the arrival of Andalusian refugees.

It is unlikely that the first Arabs had much contact with the rural tribes. The men who marched with Uqbah and Musa were soldiers, explorers, and missionaries, not rural colonists looking for new land. Arabic triumphed in each administrative center, but the towns of Morocco remained islands of Arabic language and foreign civilization in a sea of Berber tribes.[45]

The early restriction of Arabic to the cities is not hard to explain. Between city and country in Morocco there is a chasm without counterpart in the Western world. The Moroccan towns did not grow gradually from small beginnings; they were built by decree. The tribesmen living around such artificial creations could not regard them with any feeling of pride. The new cities, like the Roman settlements, reminded them of the master or even of the foe.[46] Prior to the European occupation, all cities were protected by high walls and gates that were closed at night. After the bedawin invasions, Arab tribes were sometimes given land and pasture around the larger cities, with the intention that they would form a defensive ring.[47]

If the cities of northern Africa had remained the only centers of diffusion for Arabic, it probably would not have diffused at all. The most effective teachers were the bedawin, who began to move into northern Africa in the seventh century. This movement was headed by the Bani Hillal and Bani Soleim, who had been ejected from the Syrian desert for plundering pilgrim caravans. About 1050 the caliphs in Cairo, enraged at the disobedience of the Sanhajan emirs in Qayrawan, sought to chastise their rebel vassals by launching the bedawin against them. After having conquered southern Tunisia, these rough and illiterate nomads passed through the Saharan Atlas, spread over the Algerian plateaus, and entered Morocco through the Taza corridor. By the end of the fourteenth century they were camped on the Atlantic littoral.[48]

The bedawin differed profoundly from the aristocratic adventurers who had conquered the country three centuries earlier. They had no desire to propagate religion or to found cities; their task was to find new pastures for their flocks

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[44] W. Marçais, "Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 4 (1938), 1–32; "L'arabisation des campagnes," *ibid*, 14 (1956), 5–17.

[45] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale* (2d ed., Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925–1934), I, *passim*.

[46] E.-F. Gautier, "Native Life in French North Africa," *Geog. Rev.*, 13 (1923), 27–39.

[47] Robert Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert: nomades d'Orient et d'Afrique* (Paris: Hachette, 1947), pp. 262–264.

[48] For a detailed study of their migrations, see G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Leroux, 1913).

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and new camping grounds. They were numerous enough to compete with the plains-dwelling Berbers for their land, but as bedawin they were unable to dislodge or greatly influence the mountain tribes.

Wherever pastoral Arabs and sedentary Berbers came together, the economic conflict was accompanied by a clash of agrarian democracy with the authoritarian order of pastoral society. The importance of this conflict is suggested by the fact that Arab dialects are confined, even today, to lowland or plateau areas well suited to urbanization and pastoral life. In the highland zones, particularly in the irrigable areas, Berber society was not seriously disturbed. The only important exception to this generalization is the Jbalan sector of northern Morocco, which is well adapted to sedentary life but nevertheless was Arabized at an early date. It must be remembered that Jbala is a passageway between Morocco and Spain, and that many of the troops that took part in the Spanish campaigns were recruited there.[a]

The coincidence of Arabic speech and gentle relief should not be viewed as a simple relation of cause and effect. The plains were better suited to bedawin life, and the bedawin were chiefly responsible for the spread of Arabic speech. During most of Moroccan history the areas of gentle relief coincided with the effective limit of the central government (*bilad al-makhzen*). In many areas the advance of governmental control and Qur'anic law favored the adoption of Arabic speech. In contrast, the rugged terrain of the Moroccan mountains helped to maintain Berber independence.

Some writers have asserted that the Berber-speaking tribes were *driven* to the highlands, and that the dominance of Arabic in the lowlands represents displacement rather than assimilation.[b] From the time of Uqbah and Musa, the Arabians in the army of conquest and among the colonists must have been comparatively few, limited to those in command and in high office. The number of women accompanying the army and the first immigrants was necessarily small. Disease and fighting took their toll. After the fourth generation the Arabian "blood" would have been greatly diluted by intermarriage with native women. Many if not most of the troops that took part in the Spanish campaigns were Berbers from Jbala, Ghmara, and the Rif. In the opinion of one scholar, the veins of the Caliph Abd al-Rahman III (912–961) contained less than a hundredth part of Arabian blood.[c]

The bedawin were more numerous than the first invaders, and moved with their families, but Gautier thinks that they could hardly have numbered more than 200,000, probably less than 2 per cent of the population of northern Africa at that time.[d] After centuries of mingling with Berbers in Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria, it is doubtful that the bedawin who reached the Moroccan coastal plains retained more than a nominal amount of Arab blood. Montagne believes that no more than 10 per cent of the Moroccan population can claim to be of Arabian

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49)

[a] On the Arabization of Jbala, see also A. Bernard and P. Mousard, "Arabophones et berbérophones au Maroc," *Annales de Géographie*, 33 (1924), 267–282.

[b] Cf. Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," p. 33, cited in note 8: "The once-powerful Berbers of North Africa are now principally a marginal, conservative people living in mountain refuge areas, driven there by successive waves of Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans."

[c] J. Ribera y Tarragó, *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid: Imprenta de E. Maestre, 1928), I, 12–35, 109–112.

[d] E.-F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs* (Paris: Payot, 1952), p. 429.

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descent." The Andalusian Muslims could hardly have displaced any large group of Berbers, for they settled, almost to a man, in cities and towns. It is reasonable to conclude that the Moroccan highlands remained Berber not because they were a place of retreat but because the drift of Arab influence went around the mountains rather than through or over them. The horticultural skills of the highland Berbers and their intricate social organization suggest stability, not the culture of a refugee population driven to new and unfamiliar environments."

The Christian reconquest of Spain, led by Castile and Aragón, began in 1225. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Sevilla in 1249. Soon Spanish Islam was reduced to the small kingdom of Granada, which had accepted Castile as an overlord. In 1492 Granada itself was taken, and Spanish Islam ceased to exist. Even before the conquest of Granada, many Muslims sought refuge in Morocco. These refugees repeopled most of the Moroccan towns, and provided the Saadians with technical experts and soldiers. Northern Morocco became a center of Andalusian civilization. Some families in Tetuán, Shawen, and Fez still retain keys to their ancestral homes in al-Andalus.

The Andalusian refugees brought a richer and more classical form of Arabic speech. Since most of the immigrants settled in towns, the distinction between urban and rural dialects was intensified. This distinction is still strong. The more elegant city speech is spoken not only in Fez (the great center of Andalusian culture) but also in Rabat-Salé (settled by Andalusians in the seventeenth century) and in Tetuán (most of whose inhabitants came from Ronda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Taza, Ksar al-Kebir, and Azemmour also have somewhat urbanized dialects, while Tangier and Wezzan show the influence of neighoring tribes. Meknès and Marrakech, perhaps the most extreme examples of country speech, are accordingly looked down upon by their bourgeois neighbors. Thus there is, besides the Arab-Berber distinction, a strong contrast even among Moroccans who are Arabized. No one familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Maghribi Arabic could fail to distinguish between the dialect of Old Fez and the quasi-bedawin speech of the rural tribes."

Several of the tribes shown as Berber-speakers in figure 12 are described as Arabophones in previous work. Disagreement arises from the fact that many tribes are bilingual. When questioned about their language preference, many Berbers reply that they speak only Arabic, but if questioned further they will add that their women and children speak Berber, and that boys do not begin to learn Arabic until they are old enough to attend a Qur'anic school. This is the situation among the Aith Seddath, a tribe often described as bilingual or Arabophone." It is important to note whether merchants or the educated members of a tribe use more than one language, but the linguistic attainments of the elite should not be allowed to obscure the basic pattern of domestic speech. The fact that one Rifian in ten speaks some Spanish or Arabic does not mean that the Rif

" Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert*, p. 265, cited in note 56.

" René Raynal, in "Quelques aperçus géographiques sur l'évolution des régions humanes du Maroc," *Hespéris*, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 39 (1952), 1–16, refers to the Berber mountains as "vieilles régions humaines."

" G. S. Colin, "L'Arabe," in *Initiation au Maroc* (3d ed., Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1945), pp. 208 ff.

" A. Renisio, *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

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should be described as a bilingual zone. Probably not one Rifian woman in a hundred understands Arabic or Spanish, and few Rifian men speak either language correctly.

In northern Morocco the Berber language is represented by three dialects: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian is by far the most important. It varies somewhat from tribe to tribe, but this variation does not hinder communication. The differences in pronunciation are evident as one moves from the Nkour Valley toward Wad Moulouya, particularly in Ikibdhanen. Rifians can understand the dialect of the Aith Iznasen, but they are obliged to use interpreters when they deal with the Sanhajans. The Ghmaran dialect is nearly extinct. Today it is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few hamlets of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. The relationship between Ghmaran and the other dialects is not yet clear, but Ghmaran seems to be a distinct dialect, not a variant of Rifian or Sanhajan.[a] Differences in pronunciation may be considerable, even among speakers of the same dialect. The speech of Ktama and Taghzut, for example, is barely intelligible to the Aith Seddath. The degree of difference between Rifian and Sanhajan is probably as great as that between Spanish and Italian. Nevertheless, philologists prefer to recognize only one Berber language, and attribute differences of this magnitude to isolation and the absence of literature.[b]

Berber speech has completely disappeared from the area west of Bani Siyyat, Bani Silman, and Bani Khalid. The progress of Arabization was more rapid in the interior than along the Mediterranean coast. Even today the route from Tetuán to Melilla follows the ridges of the Rifian chain, whereas no road follows the coast east of Wad Lao. The Ghmaran dialect is preserved in an area crossed by deep canyons, and bounded by high mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. In Sanhaja as-Srair most of the Arabophones occupy land south of the mountain chain. The Bani Bu Shibat and Bani Hmid find it much easier to visit the markets of Marnisa, where Arabic is spoken, than to climb the mountains to reach the main area of Sanhajan speech. In the eastern part of the Rif, Arabic is spoken only along the Moulouya Valley, the route of advance for bedawin tribes moving northward from the Algerian plateaus. The Ulad Stut not only speak Arabic but are of Arabian (i.e., bedawin) descent.[c] This claim can also be made by the Khlut, who moved into the Atlantic lowland during the fourteenth century.[d]

The first to abandon Berber (or Latin) speech were the peoples of the Tingitanian peninsula and the plains near Fez. After the collapse of Muslim Spain the same areas became havens for Andalusian refugees. From these two centers Arabic speech and Islamic culture gradually moved into the highlands. This movement is still in progress. In fact, Moroccan independence will cause an acceleration, for the language of the Prophet now has political as well as religious sanction. The Ghmaran dialect will become extinct in a generation, and in another generation or two the Sanhajan dialect may also disappear. In Ktama, Sanhajan speech is retained only in the inaccessible valley of Abd al-Ghaya, between Adrar

[a] G. S. Colin, "Le parler berbère des Gmara," *Hespéris*, 9 (1929), 43–58.
[b] Basset, *op. cit.*, in note 9.
[c] Marçais, *op. cit.*, in note 57.
[d] According to D. M. Hart (personal communication), only 9 out of 171 place and lineage names in the Khlut area are indisputably Berber.

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S 197 Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut." The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

R S 197 In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

R 175 771 Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

R 175 771 Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

R 177 175 771 [788] Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[19] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

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sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

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175 177 241 when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[11] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[12] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

## Moroccan Jews

175 563 Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[13] 563 Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[14] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[15] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

175 563 When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[11] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.

[12] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymun* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[13] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Blouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

[14] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.

[15] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402–412.

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175 563 polygamy, which is still practiced by some of the native Jews. Keen businessmen, organizers of remarkable ability, and excellent linguists, the Sephardim played an important role as middlemen in the initial contacts between Europeans and Moroccans. European protection brought a distinct improvement in their social and economic status. They were particularly active in banking, since the Qur'an enjoins believers from engaging in usury. In Tangier, Jewish bankers attained remarkable privilege and affluence. On the other hand, none of the Moroccan Jews enjoyed true citizenship, and in the days before European protection they were subject to Qur'anic law, which does not recognize the oath of a Jew.

As a consequence of European protection, the Sephardim became more Spanish or French than Moroccan. Differences in dress and speech still distinguish this group from the older and more backward Jews. Only the more conservative Jews cling to the traditional black skullcap. The Sephardim use Maghribi Arabic for commercial purposes, but prefer to speak Spanish or French among themselves. The original Jews speak Berber or Arabic, depending upon the location of their homes and the circumstances of their livelihood. Among them, as among the Sephardim, Hebrew is only a ritual language. Neither the Sephardim nor the more conservative group is prominent in the rural districts of the northern zone. The latest census of Spanish Morocco lists 8,062 Jews, of whom only 180 are described as rural.[a]

[162] [113] [a] *Anuario estadistico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, 1953), p. 40.

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## Chapter IV

# EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

175 Attempts to gain control of the Moroccan littoral began in the fifteenth century, at the dawn of the great age of European expansion. The first expeditions to the Moroccan shores were Spanish, but later, as a result of treaties between the two nations, the coast to the west of Peñon de Vélez was reserved for the Portuguese.

### Portuguese Activity

At a time when their ships were skirting the coasts of Africa, the Portuguese would naturally be tempted to set foot in a country so near.[1] During the fifteenth century they established forts at Ceuta (1415), Ksar as-Srair (1458), and Arcila and Tangier (1471); but the strong resistance of the Jbalan tribesmen made it impossible for them to move inland. So they made their greatest effort farther south, on the Atlantic coast. In 1469 a fortress—which came to be known as Casa Branca (whence the modern Casablanca)—was built at Anafe. In 1489 the Portuguese established the fort of Graciosa on the banks of Wad Lukkus, and in 1505 built the fortress of Santa Cruz de Aguer (Agadir). Castello Real (Mogador) was founded in 1506, and two years later another stronghold was established at Safi. In 1513 and 1514 Azemmour and Mazagão (Mazagan) were fortified. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese controlled a long strip of the Atlantic coast, and had made raids as far as Marrakech.

The Portuguese occupation, however, was threatened in 1541, when the Moroccans captured Santa Cruz. The Portuguese abandoned Safi, Azemmour, and Ksar as-Srair soon thereafter, and in 1580 evacuated Arcila. At the turn of the century they retained only Mazagan, Tangier, and Ceuta. The brevity of their occupation can be attributed to the restricted nature of their operations and the hostility of the Moroccans. The Portuguese, like the Carthaginians (but unlike the Romans), made no attempt to establish a system of defense in depth.[2] Even before the Moroccan counterattacks, Portuguese settlement was confined to the littoral zone (fig. 13). The disastrous defeat of the Portuguese at Ksar al-Kebir in 1578 marked the downfall of the last crusade of Mediterranean Christianity, and the beginning of a Moroccan recovery consolidated by ransom money and then by victories in the Sudan.[3] For a time Morocco seemed to be a great power, and the countries of western Europe were reluctant to plan new aggressions. The net effect of the Portuguese adventure was to raise still higher the wall between Europe and Barbary. The Moroccans, previously at war among themselves, united to repel the infidels. The consequence of this struggle was that no enduring economic or social contact could be made between Moroccans and Europeans. Morocco with-

175 113 [1] The motives of the Portuguese adventure are considered by Marcel Bataillon, "Le rêve de la conquête de Fès et le sentiment impérial portugais au XVI^e siècle," in *Mélanges d'études luso-marocaines dédiées à la mémoire de David Lopes et Pierre de Cenival* (Lisbon: Portugalia Editora, 1945).

[2] For an interesting study of Portuguese defenses, see A. L. Guevara, *Arcila durante la ocupación portuguesa (1471–1549)* (Tangier: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1940).

[3] On the causes and consequences of the battle, see E. W. Bovill, *The Battle of Alcazar* (London: Batchworth Press, 1952).

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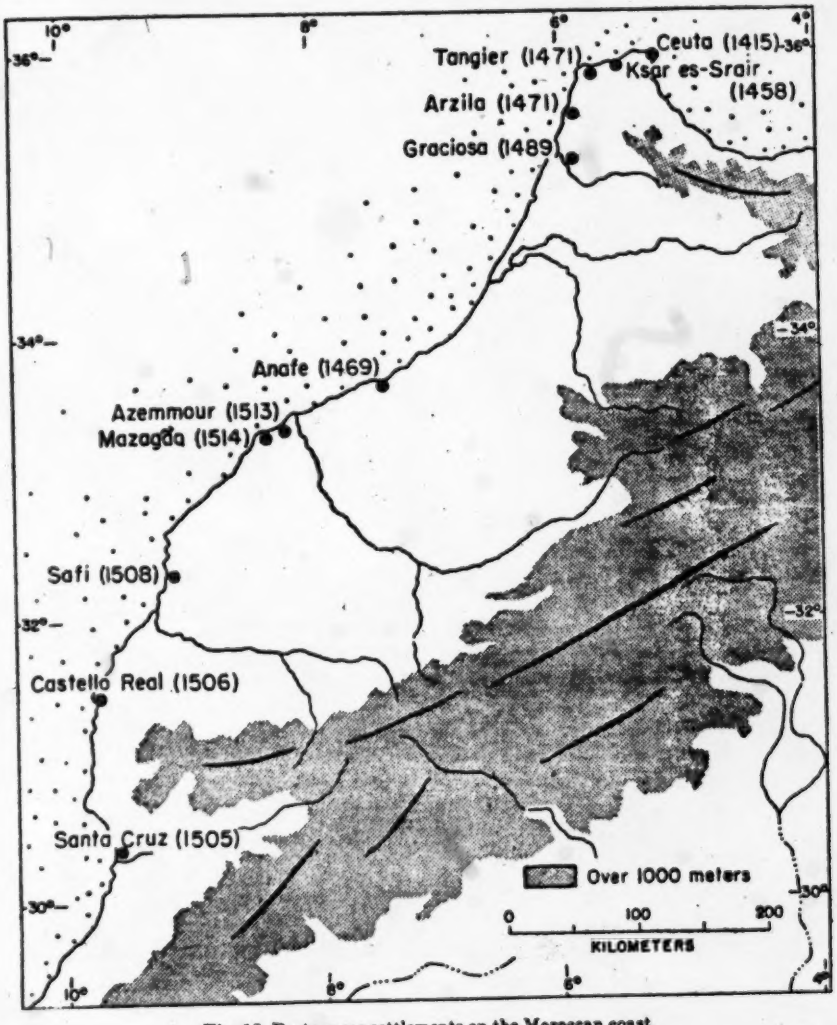


Fig. 13. Portuguese settlements on the Moroccan coast.

drew into an isolation within which fermented a religious revival based on a violent and intractable xenophobia.

### Spanish Activity

While the Portuguese were settling on the Atlantic coast, the Spanish were attacking the remaining shores of Barbary. At the beginning of the sixteenth century they captured Mers al-Kebir, Oran, and Bougie, and established themselves at the Peñón of Algiers, with the town under their cannons. But the Spanish soon

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175 became involved in more important adventures in the New World, and the Ottoman Turks, then in the midst of their last burst of offensive power, captured the presidios east of Oran. The Spanish never relinquished control of their outposts on the Moroccan coast. Melilla, annexed in 1471, and Ceuta, ceded by Portugal in 1668, are still governed as integral parts of Spain (*plazas de soberanía*).[4]

From the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the Spanish garrisons were under siege.[5] The positions held by the Spanish show an abiding concern for defense. Ceuta and Melilla are on rocky promontories forming natural strongholds. Peñón de Vélez and Peñón de Alhucemas are rocky islets, easy to defend but poor positions from which to launch an attack.[6] At the beginning of the present century the garrisons of the two islets were forced to obtain food and drinking water from Málaga.[7] During the nineteenth century the Spanish made several efforts to enlarge their holdings, but none had enduring success. In 1859 it took an army of Spaniards six months to reach Tetuán from nearby Ceuta.[8] The siege of Melilla was not broken until 1909. Seven years after the proclamation of Spanish protection, it was not safe to travel from Tetuán to Tangier. Shawen remained closed to infidels until 1920. Ifni, ceded to Spain in 1860, was not permanently occupied until 1934.

## Partition and "Pacification"

The secret Franco-Spanish agreement of 1904, the Algeciras agreement of 1906, and the Franco-Moroccan treaty of 1912 divided Morocco into areas of French and of Spanish custody,[9] but neither power was able to exercise complete control of its zone. In French Morocco early occupation was restricted to the most accessible regions—the Moroccan continuation of the Algerian steppe, and the Atlantic coastal plains. In 1914 the Taza corridor was occupied, and tracks were laid for a railroad to link Morocco with Algeria and Tunisia. But the First World War curtailed French activity, and at the end of the war French control was still restricted to the eastern plateaus and the Atlantic coastal plains.[10] Occupation of the High Atlas and the pre-Saharan zone was not completed until 1934, and within six years of that date French authority in Morocco was seriously compromised by the German conquest of the motherland. Order was reëstablished after the war, but a new and final rebellion began in 1955, when most of the Rif and Atlas mountains were again described as "zones of insecurity."

[4] Ceuta is administered as a part of Cádiz province, while Melilla is controlled from Málaga. During the protectorate both cities were separated from Spanish Morocco by customs barriers. Peñón de Vélez, Peñón de Alhucemas, and the Chafarinas are also governed as integral parts of Spain.

[5] For an account of one siege of Melilla, see F. Sebastián de Miranda, *El sitio de Melilla de 1774 a 1775* (Tangier: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1939). 175 113

[6] The standard history of the two islets is by Rafael Pezzi, *Los presidios menores de Africa y la influencia española en el Rif* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico Fortanet, 1893). See also D. Bacaicoa Arnaiz, "El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera en 1791," *Tamuda*, 3 (1955), 197–230.

[7] *Instructions nautiques sur le Maroc, l'Algérie et la Tunisie*, Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Publ. 801 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), pp. 53, 58.

[8] W. B. Harris and W. Cozens-Hardy, *Modern Morocco: A Report on Trade Prospects, with Some Geographical and Historical Notes* (London: Bank of British West Africa, 1919), p. 28.

[9] The different delimitations of the two protectorates are shown in *Atlas histórico y geográfico de Africa española* (Madrid: Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias and Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955). See also George F. Deasy, "Spanish Territorial Boundary Changes in Northwest Africa," *Geog. Rev.*, 32 (1942), 303–306.

[10] *Carte des étapes de l'occupation française* (Rabat: Institut Géographique National, Annexe du Maroc, 1934).

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The Spanish experienced even greater difficulty in their zone. The area between Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert was occupied in 1919, ten years after the siege had been lifted at Melilla. But at this time the Rifian highlands were still under tribal rule and most of Jbala was controlled by the brigand Raisuli.[11] When it seemed that the Spanish would at last be able to begin large-scale offensive action, they were defeated by the Rifian forces of Abd al-Krim.[12] Thanks to French intervention, the Rifian rebellion was suppressed in 1926, but the impoverished Spaniards were unable to bring their protectorate under effective control. The northern zone was completely neglected during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Efforts to organize and develop the zone began in earnest only after the end of the Second World War, and these efforts were frustrated when Morocco regained its freedom in 1956.

These remarks are necessary to provide a proper focus for any image evoked by the expressions "French" or "Spanish" Morocco. Yet economic and cultural influence do not depend upon military occupation and the exercise of formal power. A decade before the Spanish gained control of Jbala, tribesmen of this province were wearing undergarments and waistcoats made of cotton spun at Manchester and Roubaix. When Sidi Muhammad ben Abdullah founded Mogador in 1765, he hoped that the new town would serve as a center for European traders and consuls. At the beginning of the twentieth century, eight ports—Tetuán (Río Martín), Tangier, Larache, Salé, Casablanca, Mazagan, Mogador, and Agadir—were open to foreign trade, and each received commodities destined to become important in Moroccan life. Tea, the foundation of Moroccan hospitality, was introduced by the English in the eighteenth century.[13] Tobacco came later, also as an article of European trade.[14] Spanish currency was widely circulated long before the Spanish themselves gained power. In his account of Peñón de Vélez, Leo Africanus relates that "Venetian galleys used to resort unto this isle, and to exchange their wares for the wares of the inhabitants, and sometimes to buy for ready cash."[15] Perhaps the best indication of the extent of European influence in northern Africa is the use by native peoples of a large number of European words.[16] The technical vocabulary of the fishermen on the Tunisian coast includes terms derived from Spanish, Catalan, various Italian dialects, and Maltese.[17]

[11] On Spain's difficulties with Raisuli, see W. B. Harris, *Morocco That Was* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1921).

[12] The Rifian uprising became a major revolutionary war on July 21–22, 1921, when a large force under General Silvestre was defeated at Anual. For a full account of the war, see W. B. Harris, *France, Spain and the Rif* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927).

[13] A. Leriche, "De l'origine du thé au Maroc et au Sahara," *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 15 (1952), 731–735; J.-L. Miège, "Origine et développement de la consommation du thé au Maroc," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 71 (1956), 377–398.

[14] Berthold Laufer *et al.*, "Tobacco and Its Use in Africa," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthro. Leaflets*, 29 (1930).

[15] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 519.

[16] Muhammad ibn Azrus Hakim, *Glosario de mil quinientas voces españolas usadas entre los Marroquíes en el arabe vulgar* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1933); Mohammed Hadj-Sadok, "Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique de l'Algérie," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 13 (1955), 61–97.

[17] A. Gateau, "Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie," *Rev. Africaine*, 87 (1946), 140–183.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



428 423 171 for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

## Hunting and Fishing

224 171 In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[111] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a [576] few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. [411] To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

226 171 Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[112]

[175] In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[113] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[113] [111] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[113] [112] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[113] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VII

# EFFECTS OF SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

121 311 EVIDENCE of deforestation has already been considered briefly. In chapter ii the effects of burning and browsing were mentioned parenthetically in discussing the distribution of forest and scrub. Now that man's activities have been described, the discussion can be resumed.[1]

## HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

175 311 When the Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46, timber resources were nearly exhausted in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The cedars of Lebanon had been retreating since the time of King Solomon. Homer refers to "tall pines and spreading oaks" on the now virtually barren island of Sicily.[2] Plato, in the fifth century B.C., deplores the destruction of the forests in Greece,[3] and a century later Theophrastus complains that the supply of ship timber is limited.[4] In Pliny's time the thuya forests on Mount Ancorarius were already exhausted.[5] At the dawn of the Christian era, Roman ships were sailing as far away as the Caucasus ports to obtain timber, and Roman architecture eventually had to be modified to compensate for the scarcity and increasing price of wood. Large quantities of wood were needed to heat baths, and trees were cut everywhere for charcoal. Cork and tanners' bark were persistent items of trade. In both the Roman and the Carthaginian realms, perhaps the greatest wood-devouring industry was shipbuilding. As Miss Semple suggests, "A multitude of fishing smacks, naval vessels, merchant ships, and coastwise transportation boats kept up the demand for fir, pine, cedar, and minor woods which entered into their construction."[6] The coniferous forests were further depleted by the steady demand for pitch, resin, and tar. It would be rash to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few references after the lapse of centuries; yet it may be asserted that deforestation was evident in classical times, especially in the areas of Roman and Carthaginian influence, and that no forested area accessible to lumber merchants was ignored.[7]

In the time of Homer and Hesiod the Moroccan mountains were still confused with the peak of Tenerife, of which some indistinct knowledge had been gained from Phoenician sources.[8] The references to Atlas cedar in Latin literature usually refer to forests in the more familiar province of Numidia. According to Pliny,

175 113 311

[1] For additional illustrations, see M. W. Mikesell, "Deforestation in Northern Morocco," *Science*, 132 (1960), 441–448.

[2] *Odyssey*, IX; *Iliad*, XII, XVI, XX.

[3] *Critias*, 111 A–D, trans. A. J. Toynbee in *Greek Historical Thought* (New York: Mentor Books, 1952), p. 146.

[4] *Enquiry into Plants* . . . , IV, 5.

[5] *Natural History*, XIII, 15. Most authorities place Mount Ancorarius in the Ouarsensis Massif of Algeria. Paul Boudy, *Économie forestière nord-africaine* (Paris: Larose, 1948–1955), I, 223.

[6] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 282.

[7] H. C. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in W. L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 183–216.

[8] Cf. George Rawlinson's annotation of Herodotus, *History*, IV, 184 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1910); and R. Thouvenot, "La connaissance de la montagne marocaine chez Pline l'Ancien," *Hespéris*, 26 (1939), 113–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



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beams of Numidian cedar were used in the temple of Apollo at Utica.[9] Strabo describes Mount Abyla (Jbil Hacho) on the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees.[10] This specific reference is of major interest, for now only a few clusters of Aleppo pine appear on that promontory. The description of forest at Cape Cantin, near Safi, in the periplus of Hanno is significant, also, for no such description could be recorded today.[11] It is known that the African provinces contributed wood to the Roman baths, and it may be inferred that some of that wood came from Mauritania. Thuya beams were imported for the roofs of temples, palaces, and other fine buildings, and the same wood was preferred for cabinets and other furniture.[12] The pine and thuya of the Rif probably were exploited in shipbuilding, and there would have been a demand for fuel and lumber at each of the Tingitanian settlements.

The first Arab invasion of Morocco in A.D. 648 and the great immigration of bedawin tribes in the eleventh century mark the beginnings of two trends that have an important bearing on this discussion. The first Arab invaders were pious and learned men who sought to build an urban civilization comparable to that already established in the Muslim heartland. In each of the new cities wood was needed for building, for fuel, and for a hundred other domestic and industrial purposes. The great demand for tanbark at Marrakech, Fez, Salé, and Tetuán soon resulted in the destruction of large stands of holly oak and cork oak. Planks of cedar were needed for city gates, and beams of cedar or thuya were placed in mosques and palaces. Slender riparian trees were used in smaller structures, and charcoal braziers burned in every home. By the end of the tenth century the Moroccan cities had become "devourers of wood."[13]

Many authors, seeking a dramatic explanation of Moroccan deforestation, attribute most of the adverse change to the bedawin; at least one author refers to their "hatred of trees."[14] Ibn Khaldun noted the effects of the invasion of northern Africa by the Bani Hallal and Bani Soleim: "When the Arabs [i.e., bedawin] conquer a country, ruin quickly descends upon it"; after three hundred and fifty years of unrestricted nomadism in his native Tunisia, "ruin and devastation" still prevailed.[15]

Pastoral destruction accelerates very rapidly, for the havoc wrought by overgrazing lies not only in its destruction but also in its prevention of new growth. But it is seldom possible to distinguish one among the several causes of deforestation. There is something appealing in the thought that the Vandals or the bedawin "destroyed" the north African forest, just as there is in the notion that the Mesopotamian irrigation system was "ruined" by the hordes of Hulagu Khan.

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[9] *Natural History*, XVI, 40.
[10] *Geography*, XVII, 3.
[11] For an English translation, see B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (London: Robert Hale, 1960), pp. 62–64.
[12] Cf. Vitruvius, *Architecture*, II, 4; and Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI, 231, XXXIII, 146.
[13] Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 84.
[14] A. Bernard, *Afrique septentrionale et occidentale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1937–1939), I, 65.
[15] Charles Issawi, trans., *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332–1406)* (London: John Murray, 1950), pp. 54–58. Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, I, 228; cited in note 5: "C'est incontestablement de cette période que date la grande déforestation du pays, résultat inéluctable des incendies répétés et du pâturage sans mesure." In "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 79 (1941), 471–487, Paul Buffault also blames the bedawin, but his argument is weakened by use of discredited notions of climatic change.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



Both of these alien invasions merely accelerated processes of destruction or decay that had been going on for a long time.

Several of the Arab chroniclers refer to woods in areas that are now deforested. The celebrated text of the seventh century in which northern Africa is described as a land of "continuous shade" is doubtless exaggerated,[1] for the Maghrib would appear to be lush and verdant even today after a long trip through the deserts of Egypt and Libya. Later accounts are more specific, and several of these refer to northern Morocco. In the latter half of the eleventh century Al-Bekri describes an "extensive forest" near Qasr al-Awwal (Ksar as-Srair).[2] Today this area is covered by a shrub formation, interrupted only by scattered clumps of cork oak. In the middle of the twelfth century Al-Idrisi describes Ghmara as a "mountainous and wooded" land.[3] A generation later another author refers to forest in the Ghmaran mountains, and indicates that wood from this forest is used in the construction of boats.[4] In the fifteenth century Al-Ansari found an "abundance of trees" near Ceuta, where forest is now limited to a few stands of cork oak and Aleppo pine.[5]

In the sixteenth century the forests on the Rifian coast began to attract the attention of the Spanish. Moorish pirates had been raiding the Andalusian coast and it was virtually impossible for an unarmed ship to sail through the Strait of Gibraltar. The distress of the Spanish resulted not only from the daring of the Moors but also from the fact that the latter's boats were astonishingly fast and maneuverable. Contemporary accounts praise the "alerce" wood used in the Moorish boats and rate it higher than Spanish oak or pine. Opinions differ as to the identification of this wood, but descriptions of its distribution and properties strongly suggest the Barbary thuya (*Callitris articulata*).[6] In 1505 an agent of Fernando el Católico suggested that an expedition should be directed against the Moroccan coast at Peñón de Vélez because large quantities of alerce were to be found there and not elsewhere on the coast.[7] The latter assertion is almost certainly an error, for thuyas are still scattered over most of the Rifian littoral. At this time the interest of the Spanish seems to have been defensive, but they may have been interested in alerce as a source of timber for their own fleet. In the days of the Armada, Spain looked as far away as the Baltic for suitable timber.[8]

[1] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les arabes," *Arabica*, 1 (1954), 40.

[2] Al-Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1919), p. 206.

[3] Al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), pp. 203–204.

[4] J. Vernet Ginés, "Marruecos en la geografía de Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi," *Tamuda*, 1 (1953), 255.

[5] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une description de Ceuta musulmane au XV^e^ siècle," *Hespéris*, 12 (1931), 145–176.

[6] After initially labeling alerce as thuya, T. García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos sobre Marruecos* (Larache: Editora Marroquí, 1949), pp. 143–148, suggests that this name is related to *ars* (Arabic for "cedar"), an opinion shared by J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Bern: Francke, 1954). But it is unlikely that the cedar ever grew on the Mediterranean coast. Actually, there is little to choose between *ars* (cedar) and *ar'ar* (thuya) as possible roots of "alerce." The Latin *Larix* (larch) seems more plausible, but there are no deciduous conifers in Morocco.

[7] The reference is to "madera de los alerces, que los hay en Vélez y muchos y no en otra parte de la costa." For the complete text, see M. Jiménez de la Espada, *La guerra del moro a fines del siglo XV* (Ceuta: Imprenta Africa, 1940), p. 16.

[8] R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea-Power* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 183; Hellmuth Hopfner, "La evolución de los bosques de Castilla la Vieja en tiempos históricos," *Estudios Geográficos*, 15 (1954), 415–430.

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A number of references to vegetation in northern Morocco appear in the journals of Leo Africanus.[26] In his introductory account of northern Africa the mountains of Barbary are described as "woody on all sides" and as being "replenished with woods and lofty trees."[27] But on the eastern frontier of Barbary, close to Libya, he found "certain barren hills destitute of trees, upon the lower parts whereof grow nothing but unprofitable thorns and shrubs."[28]

Leo's account of the "Kingdom of Fez" reveals his careful observation during extensive travels in northern Morocco.[29] "The Rif Mountains," he notes, are "replenished with most beautiful and straight trees." On the banks of Wad Lukkus he found "huge and solitary woods haunted with lions and other wild beasts." In 1562 a Portuguese attempt to supply the fort at La Graciosa was thwarted, according to Leo, when the Moors cut down "all the woods adjoining the river," causing it to be "choaked and stopped up with great trees." In this context it would seem that Leo refers to riparian forest, but he may be describing an extensive stand of cork oak. This forest did not extend over the entire Atlantic littoral, for he later notes that Arcila "sustaineth great want of wood" because it "standeth almost ten miles from the mountains." Then as now, the people of Arcila imported charcoal from the cork forests south of "Larais" (Larache).

Leo's description of Anjra shows an alertness to change. "In times past," he notes, the mountains of Anjra "greatly abounded with woods, which, being cut down by the inhabitants, were sent to Casar [Ksar as-Srair] for the building of ships, which at that time had a great fleet belonging thereunto." This passage seems to imply that ships were no longer being built or that shipbuilding had declined. A further implication might be that shipbuilding had declined because suitable timber had become scarce. If so, the depletion of the forest must have taken place between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[30]

Proceeding eastward on the Mediterranean coast, Leo stopped at "Terga," a few kilometers beyond Wad Lao and noted "not far from this town" an "abundance of wood upon the ragged and cold mountains." A similar observation is recorded at "Velles de Gumera" (Vélez de la Ghmara): "Upon the mountains grow great store of wood, very commodious for the building of ships and of galleys"; and he adds that the inhabitants of these mountains "are almost wholly employed about carrying of the said wood from place to place."[31] The reference to lumber trade is not surprising, for the Sanhajans probably carried cedar planks from market to market long before the sixteenth century; but it is surprising to find a suggestion that the mountain tribes were "almost wholly employed" in this trade.

The next account refers to "Ielles," a village located on the coast between Vélez and the bay of Alhucemas. The mountains south of this place are described as being "full of pine trees," and Leo found "great store of wood" in the moun-

[26] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896).
[27] *Ibid.*, I, 168–169.
[28] *Ibid.*, I, 173.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 494–539, Hakluyt edition. The quotations to follow are taken from Book 3 of the narrative.
[30] Vernet Ginés, *op. cit.*, in note 19.
[31] In regard to the same place, Mármol (who may have copied Leo) refers to "buen aparejo de madera en las sierras de alrededor, donde hay muchos árboles, alcornoques y alerces para hacer navios." Luys del Mármol Carvajal, *Descripción general de Africa* (Granada and Málaga, 1573–1599), III, chap. 62.

[113]

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tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

## Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[11] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[12] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[13]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

## Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[14] Butane and electrical appliances are

[11] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

[12] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[13] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[14] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

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619 131 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

•195 648 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Senhaja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

/210 cont./

•175 648 the present equilibrium of the tribes of the two leffs in the western part of the Jbala. First of all, elements foreign to the two races took part for one or the other of the adversaries, according to historical circumstances. Already in the eleventh century the Koutama were counting themselves with the Masmouda of the Habt; Nefzawa elements, such as the Soumata and the Ghessassa, small tribes of the group of the Aureba, such as the Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, the group of the Branès, later some Zénète invaders, such as the Metalsa, had to choose a side and join one or the other of the alliances. Other groups, in submitting to the conqueror of the moment, even abandoned their leff of origin; thus it is that at present the Rhouna pass themselves off as Senhaja, whereas they belong to the other race. Koutama fractions were absorbed into the Senhaja of Srair; they are now part of their confederation; by contrast, the Boqqoya, Senhaja in origin, according to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, count themselves today in the "ʿalam" of the Ghomara. The Khlot, Arabs settled on the territory of the Beni Hassan, naturally attached themselves to the leff hostile to those whose place they were taking.

648 [174] It is easy, moreover, to imagine how, through the effect of internal divisions and local wars, the weakest groups were to detach themselves from the homogeneous mass of the tribes of their race and find themselves carried along little by little into new alliances more congenial to their inclinations or to their habitual interests. Still today, observes M. Michaux-Bellaire: "the small mountain tribes, incapable of defending themselves and preserving their independence, live under the protection and under the domination of a nearby large tribe to which they pay tribute ... [619] Two large tribes often dispute with arms the superiority over one of these little tribes and the little tribe at issue successively becomes Senhadjian or Ghomarian ..." (1).

1. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," p. 6.

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619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

•175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

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175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

• 175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him [578] first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [619] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of 175 631 the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of 669 Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus 648 ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

175 /402 cont./
631 of the tribes of the vicinity, ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
669 revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
/403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes
648 his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival
Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then
dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and
becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes
turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that
passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western
Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known
from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and
projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe
are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, ac-
cording to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for
his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal
structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif,
France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes
conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of
two large modern armies remained in vain because the members
of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constrain-
ing all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco
to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces;
but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened,
the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time
their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha
in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by
the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

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•175 /403 cont./
631 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

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121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who